THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 5 *Summer · 1936* *No. 3*

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Sizing Our Ballads	*Louise Pound*
A quotation from John Morley's *Recollections*	*Selected by Harry Woodburn Chase*

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Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

See page 287

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

The director of the Oriental Institute is standing at the base of the famous obelisk of Hatshepsut in the great Temple of Karnak in Luxor, Egypt.

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Dams or Deserts

PAUL B. SEARS

FROM the moment when Darwin's ideas began to attract serious attention, it was inevitable that some such discipline as modern ecology must appear. For with Darwin, environment ceased to be a vaguely tinted background to the pageant of life. Life and its environment became integrated in the thought of man, as they always had been in fact.

But the inevitable is not always the obvious. Science, in its conquest of the unknown, is scarcely more orderly than any other human adventure. And while the edges of ecology, as we know it today, were skirted, even invaded, by geography and natural history, meteorology, and physiography, the field itself was not reconnoitered until shortly before 1900. Within the past month the halls of Congress have witnessed an *opéra-bouffe* debate over the meaning of the word "ecology," nor is the uncertainty confined to people outside the more learned walks of life.

From the first, ecologists have found themselves slightly dazzled by a glimpse of new order and a sense of power in interpreting the world of life in terms of its relation to environment. They have been seriously aware, too, that in their hands reposed a mighty instrument for the good of their fellow-man. But from the outset it has been clear that the use of this instrument, more than any other proffered by the natural sciences, would speedily involve itself in deep-seated political, economic, and social complications. Modern chemistry and engineering have brought on their own chain of social effects; but the application of ecology must be won by society itself, acting consciously.

Nor was the infant discipline welcomed to the fold of science with the greatest warmth. The very complexity and extent of its subject matter often required its students to utilize techniques from other fields, without giving them time to acquire the meticulous mastery and scholarship of specialists. Not a

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score of years ago the head of a great biological department, in searching for a new man, wrote, "I can use a man trained in almost any field of the subject, just so I do not have to have an ecologist around." Yet it is only fair to add, without disparagement of the great ecologists of foreign lands, that the United States has given this subject its greatest field of opportunity. One can easily count some fifteen of our larger schools in which ecologists are directing biological work today. And though some of the older, more conservative institutions have little to do with the subject in a formal way, they are making contributions which are quite indispensable to its development.

We have spoken of ecology as a discipline, or field. It might be more nearly true to think of it as a point of view. Its aim is to know life in its relation to environment. To that end it must borrow, as we have said, from all sources. It must employ analysis at every step. But its genius lies peculiarly in synthesis and perspective. "When the ecologist enters a field or a forest, he sees not merely what is there, but what is happening there." And just as diagnosis and clinical work are inseparable in medical art, so are they in the activity of the ecologist. What has this point of view to contribute toward the solution of almost overwhelming practical difficulties in the United States today?

It should be clear that Americans have transformed their environment in record time, and equally clear that many of the most ambitious schemes of government today concern themselves with environment. It may not be so generally understood, or conceded, that we have brought trouble upon ourselves by what we have done to our surroundings. The wretched farmer, living on sub-marginal land, will curse the rich, or the system, or some shining mark who personifies it, while he himself goes on stripping his hillsides, plowing vertical furrows upon them, planting a single crop, scorning necessary economies and precautions, burning his wood-lots and pastures—in fact doing everything as completely wrong as possible.

The rich and responsible are little better. After mining the forests of the northern Lake States, the great lumber interests

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shifted elsewhere. Although this new move represented the last possibility for indiscriminate lumbering, which in the end would destroy the industry itself, its operators sailed bravely in to repeat the old manœuvres. Only when they were shown, against their firm belief, that they lost money by cutting immature, undersized trees, did they adopt the sustained yield policy in place of the old "cut-out and get-out" methods. This is not a blanket indictment of every lumber operator, nor is the previous paragraph meant as an accurate description of every poor and struggling farmer. The southern pine operators, in particular, have welcomed the introduction of sound methods. But any one who is familiar with the stricken landscape over much of the United States today knows which type of management, both in farm and forest, has written most of the record.

And for the man who has not travelled widely, or whose eyes were sealed when he did so, the story is now written plainly in the report of the National Resources Board, which appeared in December, 1934. In greater detail it is being set forth by the various State Planning Boards, many of whose reports are appearing as this is being written. These documents present, in convincing figures, the record of an environment thoroughly disordered; the symptoms of an environment diseased.

The continental United States contains about two billion acres of land, about one-half of which can be called farm land. Of this farm land, today about one-fifth either has been impaired, if not destroyed, by erosion, or is on its way toward that condition. Write down a capital loss of 20 per cent on that item. And those figures take no account of the manifest, serious damage to western range lands from overgrazing, followed by erosion. Nor do they reckon with the widespread loss of surface material from broken forest areas which have been logged over and frequently thereafter burned.

The seriousness of this situation can be appreciated only by understanding what is lost when the soil goes. For decades of our national life we were blinded to the meaning of our abandoned farms by thinking of the soil as a sort of automat or

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hopper. We could draw upon its constituents until they began to run low, then either begin to replace them in the form of fertilizer, or move on to fresh land, as economy would indicate. Farms, we thought, were abandoned simply because crops had removed certain minerals, which could be more cheaply obtained by moving than by purchase and restoration. The hills of New England show today a high water mark of agriculture, long since receded to the valleys. It is a curious fact that even scientific men attribute this to mineral depletion, when in point of fact it is due to the washing away of top soil after the ground was put to the plow.

Soil is in reality a very precious thing whose value cannot be measured solely in terms of the minerals present. To use Huxley's luminous analogy, one might as well judge the value of a watch by an inventory of the raw materials which go into it. For the soil, like a watch or a city, exists by virtue of the organization and activity which it expresses. Throughout the ages green plants have been building the carbon of the air and the minerals of the soil into foods. And in these foods is accumulated the energy of the sun, available for living things.

The wastes and remains of life, reposing on the ground or buried in it, still contain a residue of this energy. Thus as time goes on the soil, like a vast storage battery or accumulator, becomes increasingly charged with energy. This energy, not often available directly as such to green plants, is nevertheless most essential to life because it establishes working relationships toward water, gases, minerals, and the important, although invisible, bacteria.

It is this great reserve of potential energy, as well as an accumulation of nutrient minerals, which we tap when we turn the virgin soil. So long as we had it even the methodical and economical farmers of the Old World, working on their long-farmed soils, could not hope to compete with us. And while it lasted we were the granary of the world. Now the rest of the world is back to feeding itself and we shall presently have our hands full doing the same thing. We have, in short, not merely

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depleted our soil, but broken down the delicate working of it, and to that degree destroyed it.

Happily, public and private agencies are aroused. The voices of colonial gentlemen farmers, though potent in other respects, had little effect. Sir Charles Lyell, visiting us in 1846, was horrified at the destruction which erosion was causing, and said so. But there was abundant new land then, and there were other troubles than the soil to concern us. Van Hise in 1911, in his great work, *Conservation of Our Natural Resources*, sounded the alarm to ears better attuned to the call of the forests. Only within a decade, thanks to the unremitting and intelligent evangelism of Dr. Hugh Bennett, have we become aware of the impending crisis. Dr. Bennett is now head of the newly-organized Soil Conservation Service, which is within the Department of Agriculture, after a brief start in the Interior Department under the designation of Soil Erosion Service. Considering the enormous task which it faces this arm of government might, not inaccurately, be designated by a still different name—the Soil Restoration Service. For restoration really describes the work which must be done.

To that end a far-reaching campaign is under way. Instruction, cooperation, and research represent the pathways along which it will develop. To be effective, assistance from other public agencies must be secured, and already there are hopeful signs in this direction. Besides the usual methods of instruction, provision has been made for demonstration projects in some of the worst areas, showing how land can be reclaimed from the forces of wind and water. At every step the cooperation, not only of individual land owners but of such public agencies as the state governments, the Forest Service, and the Indian Bureau is being sought. With the breakdown of the old Agricultural Adjustment Administration a substitute act is now in effect whereby the land which is retired from production will be subsidized by the federal government, providing it is so handled as to restore its fertility. The individual farmer is to be well-paid for planting leguminous cover-crops which return

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nitrogen to the soil. In contrast to this policy of rewarding the good and letting the evil stew in his own sins, Canada and the State of Texas have inaugurated plans which penalize the individual who mistreats his land. Profound differences in political thought are involved here, of which statesmen are quite aware, but which few have had the courage to draw into the open. Is there any obligation upon government to gauge its expenditures on the basis of the return which society may expect to receive? Can money itself ever serve as such a measure? These are two of the simpler quandaries, backed honestly on both sides, their solution complicated by sinister pressures.

Behind the program of immediate action lies the task of fundamental research. Indeed there are many problems in the restoration of our soil which we can approach only empirically at present. Frequently such measures work very well. An observer, flying west from Atlanta over a severely eroded district, reports that the fields below him were very uniformly contoured and terraced. Another, threading his way among the valleys of West Virginia during the recent floods, was amazed to find the swollen rivers almost clear, instead of being soupy with mud as they were elsewhere in the country. His answer lay in the fact that every plowed field he saw, without exception, had its furrows running horizontally, across the slope. The roily floods which he had seen in states to the northeast were lined with fields whose furrows, with least resistance, ran vertically up and down the hills. Thus in West Virginia, by a simple device, long practiced by the Chinese, the Filipinos, and the Indians of Central America, substantial improvement has been effected.

But permanent restoration will demand much more. Our country is a maze of soil types and topography, a museum of climatic conditions. Superpose upon this a great variety of crop combinations, as well as a modern Babel of social, industrial, and economic regionalism, and you may appreciate what an ultimate solution involves. This solution the newly created Soil Conservation Service has as its responsibility. The research

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program of one of its divisions, before me as I write, embraces projects in the field of climate, ecology, geomorphology, erosion history, economic geography, and the criticism of erosion control. Nothing superficial there! Add to that the necessary studies on soil itself, engineering technology, agronomic practice, and range management—you still have in the background the creative problem which the political administrator faces in applying this knowledge, once we have it. Call his work research, experiment, or in the English manner, muddling, if you will. It involves nothing less than reshaping the life and destiny of a nation. For the curse of Cain, borne by the man who works the soil, has never been wholly thwarted yet, in any land or time. Perhaps the compact, enlightened, Teutonic nations of northwestern Europe have come as near success in this respect as any. But China and Egypt, so long the pattern of agricultural perfection, only exist at the price of infinite labor and by virtue of fertility brought in from outside their own borders. The precarious situation which threatens with the Italian occupation of Lake Tana and the frequent provincial famines of China, to say nothing of floods and dust-storms, are sufficient comment upon human security in those two ancient lands. And to repeat the list of abandoned culture sites in Asia Minor, central and northern Africa, the interior of Asia, and parts of Central America, would be to presume beyond the insistence of a Scipio. Sufficient is it to say that the belief in great climatic crises which forced man to abandon these old centers is giving way to the certainty that he forced himself out by a failure to establish and maintain an ecological balance with soil and climate. We have no promise of a better fate unless we mend our ways.

At a time like the present, when the feats of fairies, wizards, and jinn have become dull reading for children surfeited by the wholly incredible behavior of that new slave, electricity, it is natural that the public anticipate some master-stroke of invention which will avert the consequences of our past mistakes. The heroes of our own fairy stories, we are quite confident of

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coming to a good end and living happily ever after. At the very worst we might have to scatter a little more largess to scientists, although we can generally rely on those peculiar folk, like the brownies, to work because they wish to. Seriously, does science offer any promise of a way out, more picturesque and *moderne*, less laborious, than the slow revamping of our rural economy?

Can we, for example, look forward to the manufacture of food by artificial process, allowing the sun's energy to work upon chemical devices of our own making, rather than through the agency of green leaves? Certainly profound progress has been made in understanding this process, and some chemists are quite willing to predict that we may be able to duplicate it. Such an event is by no means unthinkable. But it is fraught with such serious practical difficulties, and plants themselves, given a chance, do the work so smoothly and cheaply, that science is not likely to counsel us to forget our present troubles.

Of more immediate promise is the scheme for growing plants in great pans of nutrient solution, filled with excelsior and covered with wire netting to hold these plants in place. This method actually works, as prolonged tests in California have shown. The plants can be grown as close together as their light requirements permit. No question about it, they produce abundantly. Potatoes, celery, or flowers for cutting, all thrive so long as the proper conditions are provided. And for the more costly crops, often grown under glass, the method already offers practical possibilities. But recent inquiry from a specialist who has given the matter considerable attention indicates that it is not likely to be a great factor in producing staples for the mass of mankind, at least until hot-house strawberries are furnished regularly at student refectories and three-cent lunch counters.

Granted that we could produce our food in some such way, grave environmental problems still are left unsolved if we neglect the soil. The barren plains, which yesterday were held in place by sod, are today pouring into the air as dust, laden with germs, and in itself irritating. Public health, no less than the esthetic need for a beautiful and thriving landscape, de-

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mands that we create a new equilibrium in place of that we have destroyed. Flood-control and water-supply are of a piece with the problem of restoring the soil. There is no conceivable program that can be executed, by any legerdemain of science, that does not require a reasonably uniform supply of good water and prevention of the disasters of flood such as we have been passing through. Engineering, particularly if applied farther upstream than has been the case, can do much. But unless it is assisted by vegetation and normal soil structure on every farm and forest that catches rainfall, the greatest dams will quickly be ruined by silt and the streams themselves converted into relentless and capricious agents of destruction.

Assuming then, that we must face the slow, discouraging task of rebuilding our civilization, what assistance may we expect here from ecological science? As before, the mind at once turns to wishing. Can sleight of hand be invoked in this longer, more prosaic sort of task? For example, do not the far reaches of the earth contain some potent plant which will at once anchor our moving land, enrich it, and perhaps even yield us products which we can use? Public agencies, strongly seconded by the newspapers, continue to drop alluring suggestions. Expeditions are known to be combing the other continents, returning their finds for testing. Certainly this is the way plant industry has developed. Our western states would be as crippled without the exotic alfalfa, sudan, and sorghum as the Old World without the American maize and potatoes.

On the other hand, any plants which are brought in here to conquer and reclaim our wastes must stand ready, from the outset, to do battle against our own peculiar pattern of climate. This pattern may not exhibit all of its vagaries until many years have passed—no two years are identical in climate. On the other hand, our native plants have been tried by this ordeal, for countless centuries. We know them to be already adjusted to anything in nature's bag of tricks—their survival proves that. The work of exploration must go on continuously, and the breeding of new varieties likewise. But as a matter of proper

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emphasis and perspective, why not throw the greatest effort into finding which of our native plants, already adjusted, can be encouraged to heal the scars we have made?

To be specific, there are drifting sands in parts of western Texas, occasioned by plowing and now engulfing good land adjacent. These sands have probably been anchored in place for twenty or thirty centuries—so long that the sand-binding grasses and weeds which stabilized them have disappeared from the local flora. But they still survive elsewhere in the same general climatic area. It will cost less to move them to West Texas from Waynoka, Oklahoma, where they now are, for example, than to cruise the steppes of Asia for something whose survival here can never be predicted. Often the immigrants, like the leguminous desert shrub, *Alhagi camelorum*, are a brilliant success. Often they do indifferently, or fail; and not infrequently, like the Russian thistle, or our own cactus in Algeria, they had been better left at home.

These facts are well understood by scientific men in charge of the campaign. But there is always danger that public pressure, stirred by the thought of spectacular solution, will force the hand of cautious public servants. From such situations, and from the occasional rosy-lensed scientist himself, come the grand-stand plays rich in entertainment value but dangerous to ultimate solution because they destroy confidence in scientific judgment. Science pays society for its support because it is the cautious, the unhazardous, and the least expensive guide in physical matters. Guinea pigs are cheaper than people.

Unhappily in many places the crisis has developed to a point where the more humane and inexpensive solution of science is no longer possible. This is not due to any lack of warning from scientific men. The first important ecological book published in this country, in 1898, stated clearly that much of the western plains was suitable only for grazing. This book made clear also that such grazing would have to be carefully regulated in order to preserve a permanent sod. Today, over much of that area, the land is broken up into holdings too small or leases too

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uncertain for wise and economic handling. The banks themselves have become so deeply involved through continued extension of credit that vast areas are in the position of trying to lift themselves by their own boot straps. In desperation the individual operators continue the old system of exploitation which ruined them, hoping against hope that some favorable turn of fortune will enable them to secure a little immediate profit and begin the return toward solvency.

Actually there is no way of reclaiming and restoring the region in question except by restoring the grass, as forests are restored, through a long-time policy of deferred profits and costly management. At the present time the only hope seems to lie in wise and tangible assistance from the outside, bringing about an extensive shift in land tenure and management and, of course, in population. People must be the subject of experiment. The framework of the problem in terms of ecology is clear. A new equilibrium must be established. That much the ecologist can contribute to its solution. But the unenviable task of performance, shifting people instead of guinea pigs, must be left to the skill and intuition of our brave and not-to-be-envied friends, the politicians.

And as we commend this phase of the general problem to their hands for its execution, it may be well to remind them of a source of safe counsel. Amid the pull-and-haul of clamoring constituents, government bureaus, propaganda, and well-meaning advice from all sources, including the ecologist, there exists today an agency, disinterested and competent. The Science Advisory Board, now revamped as the Government Relations and Science Advisory Committee, is as capable of passing upon matters of scientific strategy as its counterpart, the General Staff, is within the field of military practice. Enlightened interest should prompt legislative and executive officials to seek the advice of this body upon any comprehensive program dealing with natural phenomena. To the extent that they do so will they be on safe ground to proceed with their own precarious share of the task which we have outlined.

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Imported Virtuosi for America's Music?

DOUGLAS MOORE

THE announced departure of Toscanini at the end of this season came as a shock to Philharmonic audiences. Everyone knew that he could not continue indefinitely since he is almost seventy years old, and conducting four or five concerts a week, not to mention the many rehearsals, is strenuous work. Still it was hard to realize that the marvelous concerts which he has conducted for the last ten years were definitely to end. New Yorkers, visitors from all parts of the country and radio audiences have exulted in the fact that the Philharmonic has been under the leadership of the world's greatest virtuoso conductor. The problem of replacing him is a very difficult one, for, like many other great virtuosi, he is a magnet at the box-office, and unlike some other virtuosi, his appeal is based upon the most solid qualities of musicianship.

By definition virtuoso means a performer who excels in the technical part of his art. His aim is to raise performing skill to the highest level. He is not particularly interested in influencing public taste, and the public is usually more attracted by the qualities of his performance than by the music that he plays. In the worship of the virtuoso there is an element of wonder that any human being can give evidence of such skill. As a rule the public prefers the foreign virtuoso because it wants him to be as different as possible from every-day, humdrum existence. Also it likes a certain amount of eccentricity whether expressed in dress, manners, or morals. The box-office, always hovering respectfully in the background, does every-

NOTE.—After this article was written the Board of Directors of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society announced its selection of a group of five musicians to conduct its concerts for the season, 1936–37—John Barbirolli, young British conductor, now director of the Scottish and Leeds Orchestras, in charge of the concerts for the first ten weeks of the season; Artur Rodzinski, conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, in charge of the last ten weeks; and three guest composer-conductors—Igor Stravinsky, Russian pianist, Georges Enesco, Rumanian violinist, and Carlos Chavez, Mexican.

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thing possible to capitalize on this element of wonder and exploits its virtuoso before the public with a type of publicity commonly referred to as ballyhoo.

When we speak of Toscanini as a virtuoso we should really apologize because he fits the picture so badly. He is a man of the highest artistic integrity, is devoted and humble toward the art which he professes. He is impatient of show, shuns the limelight, and has manifested an independence of public and official opinion which is remarkable. He is in no way to be blamed for the ballyhoo in which his management has indulged. Indeed he goes about the business of conducting in the simplest fashion and his technique with the baton is in no way striking. His claim to virtuosity is his miraculous ear and his understanding of the music that he plays. In this respect it is gratifying that his success with the public has been so great. His distinguished career has added dignity to the term, virtuoso.

In one significant respect, however, Toscanini has evidenced the limitations of the virtuoso. Aside from his service in selecting and training the personnel of the orchestra he has shown no interest in exercising his musical leadership in the community. He has scarcely seemed to notice the existence of a musical life in the city. He usually arrives from Europe the day before his first rehearsal and departs at midnight after his last concert. While here he participates in no way in the musical life of the community outside of his concerts. He has shown no interest in any general supervision of orchestral programs with a view to developing the taste of the public and avoiding tiresome duplication. He has displayed a notorious lack of interest in the compositions of American composers. He has been the supreme musical authority in the Philharmonic Orchestra but the powers which he should exercise, the responsibility which he would be expected to assume, have gone by default to the management and the board of directors.

Managements and boards of directors are generally better fitted to supervise business details of concerts than to exercise artistic leadership. The present ruling authorities of the Phil-

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harmonic are no exception. Realizing that Toscanini was more successful at the box-office than any other conductor they could find they have widened the gulf between him and the supplementary conductors by devoting most of their publicity to his concerts. They have felt the need of greater variety in the programs and have engaged other conductors to play music which Toscanini, for one reason or another, avoided, such as the works of American and certain important European contemporary composers. But in presenting these supplementary conductors they have been half apologetic. They have not even insisted that the orchestra which, naturally enough, prefers to play under Toscanini, give its best to the visitors. As a result, the Philharmonic has become the graveyard of reputations for conductors and for contemporary compositions. The management has deliberately encouraged the public in its attitude that only the world's greatest conductor is worth listening to, and it doesn't very much matter what he plays.

And now Toscanini is taking the boat for the last time and a successor must be found. How replace the world's greatest virtuoso? Should the second-best be selected and be trumpeted into box-office popularity? It is a difficult problem, for of the remaining box-office attractions, Koussevitsky is wedded to the Boston public and Stokowski has announced his determination to devote himself to research. No other conductor in recent years has demonstrated much appeal for New York audiences. It may be it is time to try another sort of approach to the public, substituting for the virtuoso conductor a musical leader.

During the period of the establishment of our great symphony orchestras we enjoyed such musical leadership. This was a time for hardy pioneering and careful development of public taste to win audiences for symphonic music. Such men as Theodore Thomas, Leopold Damrosch, Anton Seidl, Walter Damrosch, Emil Paur, and Frederick Stock (still conducting in Chicago) were not merely expert conductors; they were leaders in the community who did everything in their power to influence the public to support music. Although every one of them

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was born in Europe, and most of them trained there, they accepted their responsibility to the advancement of the artistic civilization of the nation which patronized their concerts. Largely through their efforts we have gained a reputation among nations as intelligent patrons of the best in symphonic music. In that period we even developed an American-born conductor, Frank Van Der Stucken, who, born in Texas and trained in Brussels and Leipzig, returned to this country and successfully conducted the Arion Society in New York and the Cincinnati Orchestra. He was the first to hazard an all-American program and even ventured to present such a program at the Paris Exposition in 1899.

It may be argued that we have now passed the pioneering stage, that the symphonic audience now exists, is very sophisticated and wants not leadership but the world's greatest conductors, and will take them on any terms. Our audiences are undeniably more exacting and experienced than they were in the eighties and nineties, but there is another factor to be considered. These audiences have never been confronted with the problem of supporting the orchestras which they enjoy. The price paid for a ticket falls far short of the proportionate expense involved in giving each concert. No first-class symphony can be operated in this country without a deficit. We owe our orchestras not only to the great musicians who developed them but to the generous patrons who paid the deficits. Whether provided by a group, as in New York, or by an individual, as in Boston, there has always been financial support to step in where the box-office left off. This patronage is usually represented on the board of directors, and in return for its support it is naturally enough entitled to control over the policies of the organizations. Since the depression, however, it has become apparent that the great age of the rich patron is drawing to an end. Two years ago the Philharmonic sent out an appeal to its audiences to come to the assistance of the orchestra. The public responded gratifyingly with several hundred thousands of dollars. Considerable surprise and chagrin was shown by some of these volun-

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tary contributors when it was announced the next season that the board of directors was considering an amalgamation with another sufferer from the depression, The Metropolitan Opera Company. This proposal was not offered for consideration to the contributors in return for their support, but was rejected by decision of Toscanini (in Europe) who, when our musical destinies were submitted to him by panting messenger, handed down a negative decision. Since that time doubt has been expressed as to the possibility of raising more funds by appeal to the public.

Is it not possible that if the public were made to feel the symphony orchestras were their own a more widely-distributed means of support could be achieved? There has been a great spread of musical enthusiasm in this country due to improved musical conditions in the schools and colleges. A concrete evidence of this is shown by the fact that the phonograph companies which were in serious financial difficulties as a result of the popularity of the radio found a new and profitable field in recording symphony and opera music for sale in educational institutions. The radio too has aroused the curiosity and interest of a potential new public. So far this new patronage has not been reflected at the box-office of the Philharmonic. As W. J. Henderson recently remarked: "We are told every day now that there are unmistakable evidences of a spreading of a love for good music through all the land. May we not hope that this benign influence will soon reach our own community?"

It seems inconceivable that if there are now more genuine music lovers in this country than ever before, continuance of our great symphony orchestras should be impossible or even difficult. If they can be made to feel that their support is necessary if they are not to lose the orchestras a new and more democratic patronage will be secured. In other words, a larger public must be wooed and won. The pioneering stage of symphonic music is still a reality in America.

Who is to do this pioneering—a management by means of ballyhoo with a virtuoso conductor, or a musical leader who

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will make a sympathetic study of the problem? Now the public which patronizes the virtuoso is notoriously unpredictable, capricious, and fickle. No one can foresee what combination of qualities will result in the next current success. Certain virtuosi who have suddenly become favorites with the public here after modest careers in Europe are more surprised than anyone else at their unexpected popularity. Certain others are disappointed to discover that after a season or two their public has left them to flock to the concerts of the new favorite. The virtuoso audience is very large but is also impermanent. It hardly seems a safe foundation upon which to erect a symphony orchestra. The public which comes to concerts because attracted by the music is much more dependable. Once won it is loyal to its favorites. Music operates upon many individuals like a beneficent drug. The habit is hard to shake and larger and larger doses are necessary to their happiness. Leaders like Thomas and the younger Damrosch knew this and devoted much effort to winning such a public. They did not merely give their public what it wanted but tactfully guided its taste, experimenting and broadening but keeping constantly in touch with the patient. One recalls the remark of Thomas on being told that the public did not like Wagner: "We'll play him until they do." These men sought every opportunity outside the concert hall of educating the public to an appreciation of the importance of music and they cooperated to the best of their ability with educational and cultural forces which might be of possible aid.

The musical leader today should attempt not only to enlarge his audience but also if possible to reduce the size of the deficit by curtailing expenses. The cost per concert for an orchestra like the Philharmonic is so high that even with Carnegie Hall packed for every performance there would be a substantial loss for the season. To begin with there is the salary of the virtuoso conductor. He may have been willing to perform at a modest figure in his own country but if he is to appear before a community which he finds unsympathetic he expects to be very well paid. In the Grove's *Dictionary* biography of Gustav

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Mahler, who conducted the Philharmonic from 1909 to 1911, there is the following candid statement. "The rest of his life was spent in a strenuous effort to amass, as swiftly as possible, a fortune large enough to ensure for himself a period of rest, and for his wife and children a competency against the future. With this in view, he journeyed to America . . . there to obtain a great success as conductor of the Philharmonic Society of New York."

The Philharmonic management has never divulged how large a sum has been necessary to make artistic activity in our midst attractive to Toscanini but it has been rumored that at least $100,000 of the annual expense of the orchestra can be attributed to his salary. The question arises whether, in the hands of a conductor who receives $10,000 the deficit of the orchestra would be as much as $90,000 greater than it is now.

There is also the question of the salaries paid to the men in the orchestra. We are confronted today with appalling unemployment figures among instrumentalists. Many of the unemployed are first-class players who have held and could hold positions in orchestras of the finest quality. At the same time a certain few who are in demand for radio as well as symphony performances are paid higher salaries than ever before. The union of musicians is powerful and most of our great orchestras with the exception of the Boston Symphony are unionized. The local unions resist any attempt to reduce salaries. This is entirely proper because they must protect the interests of their members. Nevertheless they have shown adaptability and cooperation in the present perilous situation. As a rule they are more inclined to cooperate with conductors than with managements. If any reduction of this item of expense is to be secured the best chance will come if the unions are taken into the confidence of a leader whom they trust, who will persuade them that they must share the responsibility of maintaining our orchestras and of providing new ones by attracting new publics. In this way the unemployment situation among instrumentalists might be mitigated. The Philharmonic was originally a society of instrumentalists

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who organized on a cooperative basis to give concerts. Even today the men in the orchestra should be made to feel an artistic and financial partnership in preserving their orchestras.

Where are we to look for such a leader? He must undertake a great responsibility, and, coming after such a great musician as Toscanini, he must be a conductor of parts. However eminent he is, he will be notably less successful at the box-office, at least at first. It would seem that the best chance of survival would be for a young man with a young man's energy and optimism. From the point of view of organization of the public an American would be preferable because he would be best able to understand the present situation. The difficulty is that Americans have so few opportunities here for training or for the establishment of reputations that the public accepts them with ill-concealed apprehension. A season ago an American conductor, young, talented, was invited to join the supplementary group of the Philharmonic. Instead of presenting him as a possible leader, a man who needed seasoning but promised much, he was introduced as a full-fledged virtuoso, a sensational European success who was expected to electrify audiences with his attractive personality and his vivid interpretations. When it was found that he did not attract the public, that the orchestra was insubordinate under his direction, that the critics gleefully called attention to his defects, the management dropped him immediately. He might never have succeeded, but the understanding leadership which he might have contributed in a situation which needs leadership badly he was never permitted to undertake. He failed because he was not a box-office virtuoso.

The inferiority complex which has beset the American musician has probably been overestimated. The public which years ago began to patronize American architecture, novels, poems, and paintings seems to be ready to accept both the American composer and the American performer. Several of the most popular singers of today are American born and even American trained. It would not be too much to expect that an American conductor, if properly launched, would be welcomed by the

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public. He still might have to seek his training and experience abroad, because we lack the provincial opera houses which provide the necessary background for routine in conducting. In this connection it is interesting to observe, however, that Stokowski, although born in London of Polish parents, came to this country with almost no reputation and was an organist, not a conductor. He was accepted as an entirely inexperienced conductor by the Cincinnati Orchestra in 1909 and developed musically with his orchestra there and later in Philadelphia. Stokowski, who is Toscanini's leading rival at the box-office, is much more than a virtuoso, although his fame has thriven on certain eccentricities of behavior which he has not striven to conceal. He has guided the taste of his public with a firm hand, has been a staunch friend both of modern music and of the American composer, and has made interesting experiments in developing audiences, notably with the so-called "Youth Movement" in Philadelphia of recent date.

It is doubtful if another, even as talented as Stokowski but lacking in experience and reputation, could step in and assume command of the Philharmonic today. The New York public has been educated for a long time in the belief that only those musicians who have won fame elsewhere are worthy of its attention. It apparently has yet to learn that there is a certain pleasure in making one's own musical discoveries. The smaller, socially more compact community remains a better field for the young American conductor of promise. But there is no reason why, in looking for a musical leader, evidence of success in another American city should not be a deciding factor in selection. There are many excellent conductors appearing before the public in this country today and almost every one of them is more of a leader than a virtuoso. Even Koussevitsky, who is a great box-office magnet, has identified himself completely with the musical life of Boston and has not relied alone upon his brilliance as a virtuoso to attract the public. He stays in Boston throughout the season and, except for a short vacation, conducts all the concerts of the Orchestra. He supervises the engagement

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of guest conductors and approves their programs. He definitely belongs to the tradition of our great musical leaders. There are others, less spectacularly successful than he, who should be considered as possibilities.

If, however, it appears impossible to find a suitable conductor for the Philharmonic in this country, there can be no objection to the selection of an eminent European if he will come on suitable terms. Many European artists and scholars, discouraged with the political situation in their own country, find in the United States a field extremely sympathetic to the development of their talents. There must be a young conductor somewhere with established reputation who would be interested in the problems that the Philharmonic has to face today and who would be willing to play his part as a musical leader in the community. Given the proper opportunity he might even be willing to come at a more reasonable salary than his predecessors. Since there is no virtuoso of sufficient brilliance available and the box-office is bound to suffer whatever is done, it would appear inevitable that the selection of the new conductor must be made upon this basis.

As for the foreign virtuoso let us hope that he will always be welcome in our musical life—as a guest. The performances of Toscanini have been something so wonderful that this generation of concert-goers will be envied by others to come, just as we look with envy upon the fortunate ones who heard Liszt or Paganini or Lilli Lehmann. It would be unfortunate if we were to appear ungrateful for the privilege of having had Toscanini among us for so many years. He has given us his best, generously and courteously, and we shall probably never hear or see a greater conductor. But in order to enjoy the luxury of virtuoso conductors, even as visitors, we must provide for the survival of our orchestras, a survival today seriously threatened. And can we be blamed for wishing that our great orchestras, like the Philharmonic, become more and more closely identified with the forces, creative, educational, and social, which are helping this country to achieve its musical destiny?

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An Intellectual Adventure

A Human Document

WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT

THANK God I was reared in the country. My horizon was somewhat narrow though I journeyed hither and yon with my parents in North Carolina and now and then as far as the big city of Richmond over the border. My father was a big slave owner and the plantation was a self-dependent social unit, producing everything it required except felt hats. He was a religious man, an officer in the church in the village two miles away, and attended district and state meetings of his denomination. He built a chapel in which he provided religious services for the slaves. In summer he conducted in it a Sunday-school for the white children of the neighborhood; in winter they met in the big house. The early education to which we were exposed was such as governesses of limited training administered, and there were not many books. Country sights, country smells, and country sports occupied me and probably in a measure molded me.

My mother's gentle, sometimes tearful, insistence reinforced by her life of sweetness and light awakened early in me the wish to be a Christian. At the age of twelve I presented myself and was received into the membership of the village church. I recall no profound eruptive experience, only the passing of embarrassment and anxiety, the coming of a cool deep peace.

At sixteen I was pushed off to college. It was a church college of six professors and one hundred students. Everybody knew everybody else. Fellowships were intimacies. Courses were few and work concentrated. We got some book science in physics and chemistry. Brief courses in the natural history subjects were offered but I took none of them. *The Origin of Species* had been out eighteen years when my Bachelor's

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diploma was handed me but I do not remember having heard of it. Certainly no reverberations of the fierce fight which evolution had fought and won disturbed our cloistral seclusion. With us religion was not challenging science. Science was not dragging religion into court to answer for its superstitions. There was no intellectual crisis.

My adventure came when I was called back to teach the subjects which I had not studied. This anomalous obligation was hard for me; hard also for the victims of my inexperience. But shortly out of the mist the outlines of a new continent began to take shape before the lone voyager. At length the prow of my little boat grated on its sands and I set out to explore. The stone pages of its long history filled me with wonder. The crystals shut in its stones fascinated me with their shining faces and the inviolable symmetry of their structure. Bird and beast and creeping thing came forward out of the dark to greet me, and alga and moss and fern and the radiant flowery host filled my days with delight and my nights with happy dreams. And above, the jewels flashing on the velvet breast of night kindled me to rapture at times, always melted me to reverence.

I bought a microscope and began to penetrate. I verified what I had read in books—that the cell is the unit of structure and function throughout the living world and that every living thing is related to every other living thing in substance, action, and method of origin. And one happy day, poking about the world of the invisibles, I met my first ameba. I cannot forget the thrill of the apparition. There palpably before me was the stuff of life, primary, simple, spontaneous, independent, individual. I all but fancied I had come upon that elusive wizard, life itself, dodging among those streaming granules. Hours and hours since have I studied this humble creature, and today few things or thoughts interest me more. Humble, but mountains above mere matter and reaching blindly toward the infinite. Largely occupied these years with the living forms on the ameba's level of organization, I have watched them about their

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domesticities, the business of getting food and digesting it, of providing that the world should not miss the likes of them in successive generations. They kept house beautifully in the one cell which was their total equipment, and when Dick thought of the future he merely cut himself in twain and became Tom and Harry, losing his individuality but no substance. They had no funerals, for none of them ever lost an ancestor by death.

I penetrated to the hidden processes of this cell division. There I met the marvel of the whole living world. It is best exhibited in the fertilized ovum. In anticipation of the union of two cells, possibly from the far ends of the earth, to make a new one, each male and each female cell discards half the chromosomes characteristic of the body cells, so that the new individual will have the number proper to the species, not twice as many. And these mixed chromosomes are handled with mathematical precision so that the nuclear material in exactly equivalent quantity and quality is distributed to the two daughter cells. And I wondered how this protoplasm knew mathematics, having never learned, and how one hopeful sex cell knew the other was willing and ready to cooperate in realizing their joint ambition.

In the midst of these absorbing studies I cast a furtive glance at a cloud slowly spreading in one quarter of the horizon. It was small as a man's hand at first but big enough to suggest shadow and storm. It was a cloud of doubt. I was pretty faithful in religious duty personal and public, taught a Sunday-school class, participated in public worship, made religious addresses now and then. But I began to see with growing clearness that some things religious teachers said to me were not quite compatible with some things I was learning in the fields of science. These latter discoveries rigidly declined to be forced into agreement, and to question them was to question the reliability of the human faculty itself. Prayer, for example, seemed futile and impertinent, certainly in some areas of human interest. The absolute accuracy of the handling of scientific material in the Bible appeared exaggerated at first, then questionable, at

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last impossible. Of necessity the Bible spoke the language of its time or it spoke not at all to its time. The current interpretation of its origin and the method of its inspiration apparently wanted both Biblical and scientific support. The standard expressions of religious beliefs adopted by majority vote after hot debate by gentlemen of repute in their day were no longer impressive. So far as such statements were concerned with natural objects and processes, which are open to investigation, they were inappropriate, ineffective, and injurious. I so think of them still.

Marcus Aurelius remembered and set down what he learned from this ancestor and that, from this philosopher and that grammarian. I cannot recall who helped me up this step and who up that on to the plateau of intellectual peace, for I read widely in the scientific and apologetic literature of the eighties and nineties. Somehow I came upon two or three discoveries of capital importance, and they are reported here.

I discovered the religious experience to be one thing and speculation about it quite another thing. Religion as it is popularly held presents these two factors. Sometimes the speculative factor over-crowds and obscures the experiential, as in fetichism, magic, and theology. In that case you are adjudged outside the pale and contaminate if you are unable to take this or that item of the speculation. This has happened repeatedly in Christian history. Men who could not accept the current interpretation of Christianity have rejected Christianity itself along with that view of it, as if the view were the essential matter and the only possible view. They have themselves acquiesced in the judgment and gone down to history as "infidels." Huxley, for example, was said by a friend to have had really enough religion to distribute to the population of the British Isles; and many a visitor to Ferney has marveled to see the little stone church by the gate with this legend on the gable, "Deo erexit Voltaire."

On the other hand experience is experiment and its testimony valid and authoritative. What are called the moral and spiritual

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faculties of man are as certainly facts of nature as vision and touch and hearing. In fact we know them and what they report as we know nothing else. Apprehension here is immediate and untranslated. Not even does judgment or interpretation intervene. George Romanes, with his pitiful cry after the receding Christ, came finally to peace and membership in the Christian church on recognizing the legitimacy and the reliability of what the spiritual nature of man apprehends and delivers.

And so I postponed intellectual difficulties. I shall solve them or not solve them at my leisure. Meantime I will not permit them to shadow my personal relation to Christ. To me He is Superlative, myths or no myths, unscientific accretions or no, the Most Beautiful and the Best. And to Him will I cling through any mist of metaphysics, in spite of the whole rabble of detractors and professional interpreters.

Somewhere in the eighteen eighties the confident, not to say arrogant, attitude of science toward other disciplines showed signs of relaxing. It began to recognize and confess its limitations. Now the confession is open and universal. Push relentlessly through to the critical question in any field of science and this is the answer which you get, "I do not know." Sir William Crookes nobly defined a mystery as something to be solved. But we now see that to solve one mystery is merely to lay bare two deeper ones. Ask your physicist, for example, what matter is. He will tell you it is no matter. Back in the last century Huxley declared that matter on the one hand and force on the other presented the deepest and most universal antithesis in nature. Their relations are quite different now. Matter and force have compounded their differences and now appear as, say, two aspects of one entity, electricity—and electricity? Ask what light is and you probably learn that it is vibrations of the ether of a certain amplitude of wave. Press further and ask what is the ether and what makes it vibrate. You discover that some physicists affirm and some disallow the ether. In any case the victim of your inquisition cannot go beyond Lord Salisbury's famous definition, "Ether is the nominative case of the

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verb to undulate." Your inquiries in the other fields of science will yield you a like disappointment,—in biology, in chemistry, in psychology, in astronomy, in mathematics.

What then? Manifestly the man who declares anything to be impossible is assuming to know everything, and the support of science is not available. For science confronts "this mysterious universe" with an ever-deepening sense of its complexity and fertility and of its own impotence. Moreover, when the human mind conceives of it as being so and so, lo, research as far as it can reach shows it to conform to the mental plan, as though itself mental at bottom. It seems clear that whatever scientific support materialism appeared to have heretofore is now gone. Science cannot discredit faith, or the realm of spirit, or interchanges within it.

There remains but one more discovery in my exploring adventure. "The fretful midge," as Browning calls our earth,—what is it so to engage and concentrate the Divine attention? "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" Ridiculously insignificant, hiss some of the intelligentsia, this speck of dust and whatever happens on it lost in the illimitable spaces.

If our religion holds our little planet to be unique I discovered it to be unique astronomically and biologically as well. The stars are so remote from one another that the odds are practically all against any two of them ever coming close enough to influence one another. But this thing did occur once, and only once so far as observation as yet reports. A great sun whirled past ours near enough to drag off material which later rounded up in Pluto, Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Earth, Venus, and Mercury. And this sisterhood of planets without lapse or defection trail after their mother sun flying twelve miles a second toward the outer rim of the Milky Way. On every one of them astronomers now know that conditions of temperature and atmosphere make life as we conceive of it impossible, except on the earth. So that here alone of all the billions of heavenly bodies have we found this unpredictable, lonely marvel and pomp of life.

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And once here in the deep past of the Cambrian sea, life was guided, hedged in against too wide digressions, in the path of evolution through sensation, perception, conception, self-consciousness, to man, a creature that throws light backward on all below him, interprets and justifies the slow, sometimes tragic, process which he crowns. Such a culmination and pursuit of it so consistent and indefatigable look as if it had been foreseen and aimed at. Guided? Foreseen? By whom? We do not dispense with the Divine Agency by finding out how it operates. And the suggestion which now emerges is that God made man in His own image, a spiritual being like Himself, in possibility His friend.

And spirit with spirit may meet.

Now as to the universe as over against man. Whether it is infinite or, as Einstein thinks the best guess, finite, the universe made up of millions of galaxies like our own is stupendous beyond human imagining and as glorious as it is great. But does it empty out man's essential nobility or reduce him to nothingness by its bare vastness? Pascal put the matter neatly when he said, "The universe may crush me, but I should know that I was crushed." Think of a clod and a man. The one is insensate, inert, passive; the other sentient, looking before and after, a self-determining agent, endowed with moral and spiritual apprehension. They cannot be compared because they are in different categories. They are incommensurables. Add another clod and the relation is unchanged. Add ten clods, a million, enough to equal the size of the earth, of the total mass and bulk of the material universe itself. You establish no new relation. Multiply zero by infinity and you still have zero, possibly more confirmed in its nonentity. Man appears, therefore, the most excellent item in the totality of nature. If the universe lost its geocentric character to Copernicus it has now become anthropocentric with Eddington and Jeans. Above the plain of physical immensity man rises to command the whole blank stretch of it.

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James Henry Breasted, Humanist

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JAMES HENRY BREASTED was born in Rockford, Illinois, August 27th, 1865; he thus belonged entirely to the generation which grew up after the Civil War. He sprang mainly from English and Dutch stock, as indicated by the his name, which stands for *van Breestede*. Born in the heart of the Middle West, of old American ancestry, he was typically American in background as well as in reaction to the world in which he lived. Obliged to earn part of his way through North Central College (Naperville, Illinois) and the Chicago College of Pharmacy he showed a blend of practicality and erudition with which we are relatively familiar but which seldom fails to astonish the European savant who comes into closer contact with an American colleague. Like Gibbon, who maintained that his experience as officer of militia was not without value to the historian of the Roman Empire, so Breasted might say that his pharmaceutical training was useful when he came to interpret Egyptian medical papyri. To Breasted's environment in formative years may also be attributed another trait commonly ascribed in Europe to Americans, that of a pronounced meliorism—of which more below.

After receiving his A.B. degree in 1888 he studied for the ministry in the Chicago Theological Seminary where he became fascinated by the study of Hebrew. This interest led him to go to Yale where William Rainey Harper had developed a

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most remarkable department of Hebrew superior both in size and devotion to any other department at that university. Harper was one of the greatest teachers and academic organizers of his day and fathered a renaissance of the then almost defunct study of Hebrew which exerted tremendous influence on theological teaching a generation ago. In 1891 he obtained his A.M. at Yale and was sent by Harper, who had become the first president of the new University of Chicago, to study Egyptology under Erman at Berlin.

The period of study at the University of Berlin proved to be decisive. Adolf Erman, grandson of the great astronomer, Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel, and of the eminent physicist, Paul Erman, had shortly before founded a new school of Egyptology, characterized both by use of systematic methods in the study of grammar and lexicography and by interest in all branches of Egyptian culture. He was then in his late thirties and both he and his students were full of enthusiasm for the rapidly opening field of Egyptology. With Erman, who was soon to be recognized as the foremost living Egyptologist, and with his brilliant pupils, Kurt Sethe (who later fell heir to Erman's place and rank as a scholar) and Georg Steindorff, Breasted always remained on the intimate terms of *Duzenfreundschaft.*

In 1894 Breasted received his Ph.D., with a Latin thesis on the solar hymns of Ikhnaton (Amenophis IV), the famous "heretic king" of the fourteenth century B.C. Shortly afterwards he married Miss Frances Hart, paying his first visit to Egypt on the honeymoon. It is characteristic of his indomitable enthusiasm that, undeterred by a very light purse, he tramped all over Egypt on foot. This was only the first of a long series of visits to Egypt in the course of which he learned to know the country and its people thoroughly, mastering colloquial Arabic—in striking contrast to many of his colleagues in related fields.

From 1894 to his death Breasted remained a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, rising in rank from

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assistant through the grades of instructor (1896), assistant professor (1898), associate professor (1902), professor (1905), to that of Burton Distinguished Service Professor (1930). In 1925 he was relieved of all responsibility for teaching in order to devote his full time to the direction of the Oriental Institute. For the last sixteen years of his life he was absorbed by the organization and rapid expansion of the Oriental Institute, one of the greatest single enterprises for humanistic research which has ever been organized—certainly the most important one to be established in America. In order to understand his purpose in founding it we must make a brief survey of his scholarly career prior to 1919.

Early in his professional life he formed the plan of publishing an English translation of all Egyptian historical texts and official documents. Thanks to the liberal policy of President Harper he received frequent leaves of absence for study abroad in the course of which he copied or collated virtually all available Egyptian inscriptions belonging to these classes. Owing to his training at Berlin and to his continuous association with projects sponsored by Erman, such as the Berlin Egyptian Dictionary, on which he collaborated intensively from 1899 to 1901, he was in an exceptionally advantageous position. Previous attempts to edit parts of the Egyptian historical inscriptions and to make them accessible to non-Egyptologists were hopelessly antiquated by the philological work of the Berlin school which introduced precision in copying, collating, and interpreting, making such precision worth while by its systematic reconstruction of the Egyptian grammar and lexicon. In 1906 the five volumes of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents* appeared, containing nearly two thousand octavo pages. Not only did this great work antiquate all previously published translations of historical documents but it so thoroughly covered the available material that it has remained standard to the present day, though an additional volume, containing new texts and improved readings and interpretations, is now badly needed. European Egyp-

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tologists and historians received the *Ancient Records* with unbounded enthusiasm and the author's reputation was made.

Just before the *Ancient Records* appeared Breasted published his *History of Egypt* (1905), in which he utilized the documentary data, which he controlled so well, for a brilliant account of the history of the Nile Valley in antiquity. Leaving technical details of chronology and prosopography for treatment in his source-book, and employing archaeological and literary materials to round out the picture, he gave here the first real History of Egypt, a history so well balanced and proportioned as to remind one of an Egyptian temple. It still remains unequalled in its field and its scholarly superiority is illustrated by the fact that it has been translated into German, French, Russian, and Arabic, in two cases by distinguished foreign scholars. So clear is the presentation and so limpid is the style that it has been read by multitudes with pleasure, and has even been put into braille for the use of the blind.

After two long seasons of archaeological and epigraphical field-work in Nubia (1905-07), Breasted's attention was devoted for a number of years to three main branches of activity. He first had to publish the results of his two expeditions, which he did in two volumes. He then occupied himself more intensively with Egyptian religious literature, especially with the Pyramid Texts, dating from the middle of the Old Empire, and forming by far the oldest compact body of religious texts anywhere in the world. Sethe's publication of a complete critical edition of these documents in 1908-1910 made it possible to attack them with hope of success for the first time since their discovery nearly thirty years before. In 1912 was published Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, expanded from the Morse Lectures of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Here he gave the first analysis of the religious evolution which can be traced from the Pyramid Texts of the third millennium through the Coffin Texts of the Middle Empire to the documents of the second and first millennia B.C. Simply and clearly written, this

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book was epoch-making in its significance for the history of human thought. His third line of activity lay in popularization, to which we shall now turn.

In the course of his early career Breasted gradually discovered that he possessed an unusual aptitude for popularization and that intelligent laymen enjoyed reading his books and listening to his lectures. In those years he had not attained the facility in expression or the charm of presentation which he later exhibited; there was still something stilted about his style and a lack of ease in his appearance. In fact when the writer first mentioned him to a University of Chicago man about 1910 the latter observed: "Breasted is a funny looking chap, but you hardly ever see him." This was the total impression he had made upon one man in the classical field in those days! As early as 1905 he published a series of popular lectures entitled *Egypt through the Stereoscope*. Then from 1914 to 1921 appeared six textbooks on ancient history for high schools and colleges, three of them written in collaboration with James Harvey Robinson. These books were so good that they obtained immediate and lasting success and made multitudes acquainted with the author's broad perspective of history and his enthusiasm for archaeological research. The best one is undoubtedly *Ancient Times* (1916), which has delighted innumerable cultivated readers of mature years and has been translated into several foreign languages. In its enlarged form, which appeared in 1934 and which drew on the resources of the Oriental Institute for illustrative matter, it is incomparably the best introduction to ancient history in any tongue.

For years, like many American specialists in various branches of the science of man's past, Breasted had chafed against the exclusion of these fields of research from participation in the common activities of science. Since psychology and cultural anthropology were grudgingly admitted to this charmed circle, and since there never was any doubt about the citizenship rights of geology, palaeontology, and palaeobotany, in spite of their dealing with an even remoter past and with methods and data

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strikingly parallel to those of the archaeologist, this exclusion had seemed unreasonable. At last came his opportunity: he was invited to deliver the William Ellery Hale Lectures on Evolution at the annual meeting of the National Academy of Sciences April 28th-30th, 1919. The lectures were well received by many outstanding scientists and appeared in print, with lavish illustration, in *The Scientific Monthly*. It was not long afterwards that the lecturer was himself elected to a place in the National Academy of Sciences—the first time that an archaeologist and orientalist had been so honored. Yet there were many scientists who were offended by the invitation to Breasted. The writer will never forget how disgusted an able young zoologist of Johns Hopkins was when he returned from Washington after the meetings: an unknown archaeologist and "language-man" had been asked to give the principal address—what was the field of science coming to when such a thing was possible! In any case Breasted's addresses were very much like the *vox clamantis in deserto;* the time was not quite ripe for further progress in this direction.

In the same spring Breasted's enthusiastic description of the prospects for research in the Near East bore its first concrete fruit in the foundation of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, with an annual grant of $10,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. In the widened perspective of the past few years of the Institute's expansion this grant may seem small, and it was certainly insignificant in comparison with many contemporary gifts for research in the natural and social sciences. But it was so much more generous than previous donations in America for the purpose of archaeological correlation and planning that it seemed princely. We must remember that in the years from 1917 to 1921, when the first panic came, the United States was in the clutch of an irresistible wave of intellectual and academic utilitarianism. Before it all branches of research which could not be proved immediately useful for the increase of wealth and the "uplift" of society were in constant danger of being swept away. To react against the current

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tendency was an act of faith on the part of the donor, and happily one which was justified by the results.

After having met Breasted at several gatherings of the American Oriental Society and having been enthralled by his brilliant presidential address in 1919 the writer saw a good deal of him in Cairo and Jerusalem during the extended exploratory trip to the Near East which followed the establishment of the Oriental Institute. He will never forget the enthusiasm which possessed Breasted or the charm of his conversation. At the age of fifty-four he was in many respects like a youth just setting out on a great voyage of discovery. Through his later books runs the same melodic theme: a haunting sense of the mysterious unknown that beckons the explorer, linked with a thrilling consciousness of impending triumph. In the last sentence of his last book this is pregnantly expressed: "there is no reason to doubt the growth of that light to illumine realms of being that still lie all unrealised in the unfathomed ages toward which our limited vision of today looks out. . . ."

Thanks to munificent further gifts and grants from Mr. Rockefeller personally as well as from the Rockefeller foundations and to minor (but often large) gifts from other sources the Oriental Institute developed rapidly. After the preliminary stage came two main phases, the first of which began in 1925-26 with large gifts for the purpose of launching the Megiddo expedition and the epigraphic survey of Thebes, etc., while the second began in 1928. A very little later came Mr. Rockefeller's gift of $10,000,000 toward the endowment of the Institute, since raised to a total of about $13,000,000.

In selecting projects for research and sites for excavation Breasted must frequently have been faced by the temptation to sacrifice tedious and expensive but fundamental undertakings in favor of easy and sensational ones. All credit must be given him for having resisted this temptation and for having made his choices with such discrimination. The study of the representations and inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu took years of hard work on

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the part of a large staff but it has yielded the first absolutely accurate reproduction of these valuable source-materials. Part of these records of the first known contact between Europeans and Africans has been irretrievably lost but now the extant remains are preserved in stately folios which will last until our own civilization shall have vanished from the earth. There is nothing exciting in the laborious copying, collating, and interpretation of the Coffin Texts from the Middle Empire but they form the needed link between the oldest Egyptian religious texts and the New Empire ones and make it possible to recognize the organic evolution of Egyptian thought. Nor can the Assyrian dictionary project be called sensational, but the millions of already accumulated cards will soon make it possible to explain nearly all the still obscure words in the languages and dialects of ancient Mesopotamia and will thus enable scholars ultimately to give correct interpretations of nearly all the hundreds of thousands of inscriptions already discovered in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. For world history the value of this great mass of documents is even greater than that of the Egyptian records. It is only a century since the first sure steps in the decipherment of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts were made and only half that long since the first measurably adequate grammars and dictionaries could be published. In spite of the small number of workers in the field new successes in philological interpretation are being obtained every year, but we have now reached the point where the individual scholar can do little without the aid of such elaborate projects of collection and correlation as these which we have mentioned.

In excavation the same is true. At Megiddo in Palestine an ancient town of importance has been cleared for the first time over its complete area, stratum by stratum, with illuminating results. At Alishar the first systematic excavations in eastern Asia Minor have been undertaken, with such careful method that we can now write an outline history of the cultural development of this vital link in the territorial chain connecting

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Western Asia with Greece. The excavations in Syria are almost equally significant, and Frankfort's expeditions in Mesopotamia represent the high-water mark of sound archaeological method, with epoch-making results. At Persepolis, capital of the far-flung Persian empire, Herzfeld has made discoveries of primary importance for our knowledge of Persian art and architecture and has incidentally found some 30,000 clay tablets which will presumably revolutionize our knowledge of the administrative, fiscal, and legal organization of that great empire. And thus we might continue since we have by no means exhausted the list of major enterprises of the Oriental Institute, quite aside from the many minor undertakings. A detailed picture of these projects, with an impressive synthesis, may be found in Breasted's volume, *The Oriental Institute* (Vol. XII of the *University of Chicago Survey*), published three years ago and already somewhat antiquated.

It is an extraordinary fact that Breasted did not ship his oars as a scholar during the arduous years in which the Oriental Institute was being organized and expanded. Quite the contrary, he seemed to be spurred to new efforts, both in original research and in popularization. In 1924 appeared his remarkably competent publication of the mural paintings at Dura on the Euphrates, recorded by him while in Babylonia in 1920, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting;* in 1930 were published the two stately volumes of his *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, an *editio princeps* in which a very ancient and extremely important document was interpreted in a masterly way. In 1933 came his chef d'œuvre, *The Dawn of Conscience*, in which the ideas first expressed in his Morse Lectures twenty-one years before were further developed, with greater documentation and more mature insight. We find the leitmotiv of his thinking put into eloquent words in the last chapter, "The New Past," where he stated in teleological and positivistic form his view of man's place in the scheme of organic evolution.

Though Breasted's philosophy closely approaches the hominism (called humanism) of Irving Babbitt it is hardly likely

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that he was appreciably influenced by Babbitt; the similarity is rather due in part to a natural reaction on the part of both against the extreme instrumentalism in which most American pragmatism had found its logical conclusion. Enquiry has failed to yield any hint that Breasted may have been influenced from this direction. To appreciate the development of his views we must turn again to his background. A child of the young Middle West, a member of the staff of the new University of Chicago, he matured in an atmosphere of the most pronounced meliorism. With nature and science vying with one another to bring about material advance, with political, social, religious, and humanitarian reforms constantly being advocated on all sides, it was impossible to escape the conviction that man's destiny is to improve steadily and irresistibly. In such remorseless progress a teleological goal is inevitable. But there was nothing theistic or Marxistic about this meliorism. Orthodox theism was increasingly excluded from consideration by the theological liberals of the Divinity School, who reacted more and more vigorously against the place attributed to the Bible by historical Protestantism and saw religion primarily as a social and ethical phenomenon, with individual reactions which took different forms in H. N. Wieman, Eustace Haydon, Shailer Mathews. Marxism and socialism were excluded by the obvious fact that progress in the recovery of the past can only be made in a friendly capitalistic society where funds may be spent if desired on undertakings which are not for the obvious benefit of the commonwealth.

Thus he necessarily arrived at an essentially individualistic meliorism, in which "character is man's destiny," to quote the Hellenic motto of another influential Chicago thinker, Paul Carus. But it is a creed in which character is socially conditioned, and remains unattained except by persons who fit into the social framework. To Breasted's trained historical imagination the newly discovered and interpreted documents of ancient Egypt provided a striking confirmation of his philosophical creed. In Egypt one can trace the evolution of social obliga-

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tions, one can see the gradual flowering of more and more ethical forms of religious consciousness—in short one can follow the unfolding of the human conscience and can see how social organization conditioned its flowering. One may reasonably ask whether Breasted has not telescoped the long process of the formation of conscience into far too short a time. However, attentive perusal of his book shows that the title is partly responsible for the false impression which numerous readers and reviewers have gained. A more accurate title might have been *The Emergence of Conscience*—but the actual title is far more vivid and effective. To the "unconquerable buoyancy of the human soul" he attributed continuing validity: "the process of human advance which brought forth character is still unfinished—the possibilities of its future are unlimited."

Breasted's hominism, which is so strong as to lead him in one place to assert that man "*has* raised himself by his own bootstraps," is, of course, only one way of looking at the phenomena in question, the teleological import of which it is hard to deny. The theist may with equal right contend that man has been raised in spite of his nature, by infinitely skillful manipulation on the part of a superhuman agency. However, nothing can alter the fact that Breasted's observations and syntheses have made it much harder to share the pessimism of a Spengler or to accept the revolutionary social doctrines of a Bertrand Russell (to neither of whom he refers in his book). Thanks to the very fact that Breasted was not a professional philosopher, much less a metaphysician, he was able to couch his thought in such simple and vivid language that his influence on the coming generation is certain to be strong, though it will hardly weaken orthodox theism. It is much more likely that after theologians and philosophers have appropriated his weapons it will have precisely the opposite effect.

It is not easy to make a succinct appraisal of a man of Breasted's magnitude. We have seen that he was a great scholar to whom many honors came by right. Among them we may mention several gold medals, a Litt.D. from Oxford, and many

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honorary memberships in foreign learned societies and academies. After having been for years a corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions he had just been slated at the time of his death for promotion to the rank of *membre associé* in that exclusive body. Breasted was the first American Orientalist to be regarded by competent European judges as fully equal to their best men in the field; he was also the first American humanistic scholar to be so highly respected in Europe. With him American scholarship first became respectable in many foreign circles. It is particularly encouraging to know that our greatest American organizer of humanistic research was totally devoid of charlatanry and bluff, those traditional vices of American intellectual life (though in reality just as common in Europe today). It is characteristic of the man that he devoted himself with whole soul to his work. Mr. Charles Breasted writes:

> Strangely enough, my father never had what might be called a hobby. He read voraciously; in his youth and up to middle age he played the flute; he was always a music lover. . . . He loved horseback riding and took a boyish pleasure in motoring. He very seldom took vacations; but when he did, they invariably included several hours a day of work either on a book he was writing or some phase of his incessant scientific endeavors. The content of his scientific life was so diversified and was for him so constantly a challenge, that it could be said that his work and his hobbies were one and the same.

Investigators in the field of the humanities must not forget that Breasted made their studies respectable in the circles of the great Foundations and in many universities where only scanty and reluctant support was previously forthcoming. His enthusiastic approval could always be counted on whenever a sound project for humanistic or scientific research was presented to him. This service to the humanities may in the long run be just as important as his innumerable direct contributions to the recovery of the past. He came on the scene just when the humanities most needed a champion, and many circles which exhibit a tendency to belittle him owe much to his timely

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intervention. Breasted would certainly wish to be remembered as a great humanist, by whose instrumentality the "new humanism," as he liked to call it, emerged from the womb of a forgotten past, impregnated by the *élan vital* of the present. When the first two-thirds of recorded human history shall have yielded most of its secrets it will be James Henry Breasted whom we must thank for the largest single share in its recovery. Breasted would have been too high-minded to have applied the lines of Horace to himself, but he would have appreciated their Egyptian inspiration:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.

Comprehension

MILDRED COUSENS

Down the dim lit corridors
Of labyrinthian mind
Slowly moves the silent thought,
Careful as the blind

Who know with sure decisive hands
The way solution lies,
Though deep amorphous shadow rests
Upon their empty eyes.

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The Newspaper of Tomorrow

GEORGE FORT MILTON

WHENEVER the world is in ferment none of its institutions or techniques is likely to be impervious to change. Particularly is this true today when there is movement, adaptation and experiment throughout our economic and social patterns. Thus it is that nowadays the clergy concern themselves with here more than with hereafter, corporation lawyers think occasionally of their functional relation to society, and the men behind the newspaper show signs of dissatisfaction with journalism's most sacred cows. And this is as it should be; no institution which does not continually test its ideals, techniques and measure of accomplishment can claim real vitality. In the institution as in the individual, complacency and self-righteousness are the seeds of decline and fall.

And yet, admitting all this, those actually connected with newspaper-making are generally hard put to it to focus their thinking about their task and performance. Probably the main reason therefor is that the newspaper is neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring but a cross between all three. The combination of factory, business and profession into a single institution lends to the daily press a complexity from which flows much confusion as to its rights and duties.

The newspaper man can spend his life perfecting a factory job, exploiting a commercial business or following a great profession. This difficulty has led many to beg the whole question of definition of function by calling it "the newspaper game." More than this, it has enabled some within the "game" to overemphasize one or another of the facets and to avoid responsibilities. And so one finds the dominant characteristic of one paper its very efficient mechanical organization; another is

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noteworthy as a highly profitable commercial enterprise, and a third will have won a deserved reputation for doing an honest job in attempting to mirror life's moving stream. What will come forth from intra-institutional conflict of forces, what changes can we expect in the shape and pattern of tomorrow's paper?

The average editor is trained to be pontifical, to maintain that the press is the palladium of wisdom as well as liberty. And yet, if cornered, nearly every candid newspaper editor will admit that he is none too proud of the results attained even by his own journalistic child; that newspapers, his own among the rest, are too eager for sensation and the mere surface of the news; are sometimes so dependent upon advertising revenues that the tail can wag the dog; that although the newspaper is one of society's three greatest opinion-forming agencies, it is not doing its social job any better than are church and school.

But the candid newspaper man would cap these admissions by pointing out that he is far from being alone in sensing these lacks and failures; that the men who make the nation's newspapers are increasing their efforts to find out how to do a better job. One hopes that the fruit of this will be the slow evolution of the newspaper of tomorrow, one more realistically related to the world we live in, one better discharging its responsibilities to society.

Before such a newspaper can come into being, however, there will need to be a more satisfactory equation of the conflicting institutional importance of factory, business and profession. So far as the factory is concerned, the apparatus for producing the modern newspaper bears little resemblance to that of a century ago, for newspaper production has been fundamentally modified by the technological revolution. In Old Hickory's days little more was needed to start a paper than a few fonts of hand-cast type, an old Washington hand press, a couple of handy men at the cases and a few hundred dollars capital. New papers were born as easily as new railroads or banks. As late as 1860 any new public emotion or point of view

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gained a supporting press with amazing speed, and almost any candidate of national proportion had friends about the country who could and would establish new organs, hoist their hero's name to the masthead and champion his cause. This was especially impressed on me when I was digging into the actual facts of the 'forties and the 'fifties seeking the significant social material for a study of the gestation of our Civil War. With the birth of the Republican party in 1854 new papers bubbled up like springs after a heavy rain. To back convictions with editorial bludgeoning men needed courage more than cash.

But this was before the days of Ottomar Mergenthaler, who invented a linotype machine having almost the brain of a man. It was before the development of the curved stereotype plate, the perfection of the high-speed rotary web press, photo-engraving, or other mechanical processes now inextricably woven into the production of the daily printed word. One result is that the modern newspaper is a great factory job, with elaborate composing rooms, layouts of stereotype machinery and batteries of expensive, high-speed presses. From a merely factory standpoint the newspaper is over-capacitied; it operates but eight hours a day, its presses even less. This, however, grows out of the fact that time is of the essence of the contract; the publisher wants only an hour to elapse between the closing of its forms and the printing of the final copy; and another hour between the copies rolling hot from the press and delivered to the subscriber's doorstep.

One hardly need add that such machinery involves heavy capital investment; one suspects that new presses are plated with platinum and studded with gems. The modern newspaper, even a comparatively modest one in the provinces, calls for so large a capital outlay that it is no longer an easy matter for a new paper to come into the world.

As a business institution the newspaper is chiefly concerned with the management of its physical production, the distribution of the paper to its subscriber, the sale of advertising, and the general administrative and auditing controls. Emerson re-

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marked that, were a man to build a better mouse-trap than had existed before, the world would beat a path to him—though he be in the heart of a forest. And yet while this sounds very well it doesn't seem to pan out. In our actual workaday world the mouse-trap man must come out of the heart of the forest, take his mouse-trap to the customer, overcome his sales resistance and sell him the bill of goods on the installment plan. In any event the modern newspaper has been forced to do far more than merely print its paper. Since it seems much more important to get it read, which means that people must be persuaded to subscribe to it, we take the paper to the heart of the forest, rather than the reverse—all of which calls for an elaborate organization of carriers, agents in nearby towns, newsboys on the street, truck drivers, solicitors, collectors, supervisors, a heavy circulation expense.

People pay something for the newspapers they buy, but I do not know the newspaper in recent days that has asked or expected the public to pay what the paper really costs. On the contrary, income from circulation generally runs not much more than a fourth of the total publishing cost. The rest must be made up from some source: loss, subsidy or advertising. The American paper seems to do it from sale of advertising, and the staffs for this purpose are even more highly organized than those concerned with circulation.

In its proper use, advertising performs an economic service of social value. It is a tool of distribution and, like other tools, its ethical significance arises from the way it is used and not from the tool itself. It cannot be denied that some advertising is contaminated by an anti-social element; particularly that devoted to persuading the consuming public to new wants which may not be needs at all. Some advertising does misrepresent the merit of a particular article or service. When a fine and useful thing is misused for deceit, exploitation or anti-social purpose it is an indictment of the misuse, not of the thing itself. In its proper use, the advertising of an honest good or service, at an honest price, can broaden enormously the sale

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of the particular item. Increased volumes reduce overhead, enabling price reductions and resultant benefit to consumers. This is advertising in its proper use. Advertising has become an important agent of distribution and will continue so. To carry the messages of business to inattentive consumer Garcias, newspapers compete actively with each other and with other sales-promotion agencies.

It may be that the newspapers of the United States have seen the heyday of huge advertising volumes; perhaps one of their most immediate readjustments will be to smaller advertising revenues. This can be done in two ways—by cutting the size or pay of existing staffs, or by seeking more revenue from subscribers. But newspaper operating costs are unusually unyielding. It is a continuous publication industry and a relatively high wage one. The newspaper cannot "shut down," it cannot bring in a great brass brain to eliminate its payroll. The likelihood is that it will have to replace lost advertising revenues by seeking a larger circulation price. The subscriber paying more for a better paper could place more confidence in it. So far as advertising is concerned the tail might be a little less important in wagging the newspaper dog—all the way around a healthy change.

But it is the third aspect of the newspaper, the professional one, that has the greatest social significance. The gathering and printing of the news, and the editor's comment thereon, is a most appealing field because it is vital and alive. In its professional zone, one finds a conventional division between news and editorials. News is—or ought to be—a mirroring of the stream of life. As such it ought not to yield only a reflection of the surface but some penetration into the depths. Editorials, reflecting the "policy" of the newspaper, are supposed to reveal what the editor thinks about what is going on.

In the last forty years a third thing has crept into the picture and now shares the non-advertising columns with news and views. That is "features," the newspaper's circus tent and vaudeville show. Features are a world all in themselves. Fea-

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ture syndicates dig up clever ideas, like Andy Gump or Eddie Guest's poems or Dorothy Dix's advice to love-lorn young girls. These gadgets of journalism are distributed on a national basis, hundreds of newspapers take the leading features and a large part of the editor's task is to pick the popular comics, to run a good serial and to make a good guess on fashions and love advice. Some of this daily song and dance is amusing; less of it is instructive; one fears that most of it is as dull as dishwater.

When features first came along, many editors objected violently and swore great oaths that they would never use them. It is an understandable reaction, and yet perhaps amusement and entertainment deserve to be a part, though not the controlling one, of the newspaper function. All work and no play does make Jack a dull boy; modern life does result in the accumulation of a great many fatigues, nervous tensions, strains, and distresses. There is no inherent reason why a first-rate comic cannot help release these tensions, why Dorothy Dix may not really give Heaven some aid in the great task of protecting the poor working girl.

Yet there is some tendency to give a smaller proportion of the total news content to things of this type. There are signs that a better type of features is emerging; things of more informational value. As to the future, the large increase of leisure cannot help but lead to a subscriber demand for a better feature content. The newspaper will have to partake more and more of the good magazine; to contain something really informative and critically useful on cultural subjects—on the theater, professional and amateur, on painting and sculpture, on the interesting developments in the natural and physical sciences, and on the many little bits and oddments that man finds to divert him. All these things promise us a little better type of features, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

For some years it has been a commonplace remark that the age of editors is over; that something curious has happened to put an end to all the Danas and the Greeleys and the Bowles and the Medills and the Gradys. Nor can it be denied that, dur-

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ing the past quarter of a century, a great many newspaper publishers came to regard the editorial page as a sort of journalistic vermiform appendix, a part of its interior mechanism useful at an earlier stage of evolution but no longer of much consequence. One result was that many papers kept their editorial page in a state of suspended animation. The publisher assigned some nice old men to fill its columns with pious essays about the joys of Alpine mountain-climbing or the part the grand old State had played in the Republic's birth. One such publisher told me not many years ago that a newspaper must have one or two vigorous and highly virtuous indignations. Whatever it was, be sure it was very wrong, and more than a thousand miles from home. His suggestion was to denounce the inhuman piracy against fur-bearing seals in the Kamchatka inlet.

Now the reasons for editorial decline are not difficult to seek. The great editors of half a century ago were primarily political partisans, men whose sulphurous vocabularies were ever at the service of their party or its candidates. Then came the mechanization and the commercialization of the newspaper. The field of ownership began to be invaded by more and more men who looked at the newspaper as business rather than profession. Either these men were absentee owners or, if in the paper, they were concerned with the mysteries of milline rates, circulation breakdown, competent advertising selling staffs, new presses, modernization of composing rooms—in a word with the newspaper as factory or business. As men of capital their views tended to be the views of their fellows in banks, factories and stores. As men of business they wanted to avoid the unpleasant clash and jangle of acrid editorial controversy. The development was quite understandable—and just too bad.

In the last few decades, however, there has been a recrudescence of better editorial writing. Many of the great newspapers have grown out of the purely commercial phase; they have builded into institutions, and have been re-acquiring pride in a better performance of every part of the newspaper job, including the rejuvenation of the editorial page. There are

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more papers today than ten years ago of which it can be said that the paper is run from its editor's office, its opinions are his opinions, he really believes what he says and has a sense of social conscience and public obligation in saying them.

There is, however, one marked difference between a Dana and a Daniels, a Medill and a McCormick. In those olden days the editors clouded up and thundered. The effort was to exhort, to entreat, to plead, to browbeat—in whatever way, it was to persuade or compel agreement with the view expressed and from this to secure the reader's action. Greeley's *Weekly Tribune* was a Bible for the Abolitionists. The Abolitionists knew what to expect, agreed in advance and took it for that reason. Democrats did not take it.

Today the editorial is more explanatory than hortatory. It seeks to supply the reader with a background of the particular event, to relate it to its frame of reference, to give some indication of what the shooting is all about. After all, this represents an improvement, for the reader is entitled to have the facts put before him and then to have the editor do him the courtesy of letting him make up his own mind about what is what—or at least think he is making it up. Likewise editorial pages are broadening their scope, expanding their horizons, almost becoming little elective colleges depending on the key of interest to excite the intellectual curiosity of the reader and help him keep in the current of life.

But news is the real purpose, the true function of the newspaper, its *raison d'être*. But for it cross-word puzzle books and advertising circulars could replace it without fearful loss. Fundamentally a newspaper exists as a public trustee dedicated to the printing of the news. It is the most pervasive, the most constant, perhaps the most insidious of the agencies of education. The world of most people is the newspaper world. Their moral standards, their ideology come from this source. Their picture of Russia has come from stories under Moscow datelines. They visualize Chicago as newspapers portray it, a city with racketeers on every corner, a place where King George is

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regarded with abhorrence and Sam Insull as a patriot. They think of the New Deal as the press distorts it, and listen anxiously for the heavy tread of Roosevelt on the march to Moscow.

Now the American newspaper cannot escape a responsibility for the existence of such unreal pictures in the mind of the average man. Of course I know that news is news and that when Bill Thompson tries to ban King George from the history books or when Dutch Schultz is taken for a ride the event meets this test and demands publication. But it would seem equally true that newspapers can shift the focus of the news. By presenting in due proportion the other material of greater importance, the newspaper can alter the picture which the average reader has of his world.

Nor does this embrace the readers' whole grievance against the papers they buy. Not only does the newspaper often create a wrong or distorted impression, but even more frequently the reader leaves it with no impression at all. The newspaper has been so keen to set facts before its readership that it has not pointed out the truth behind the facts, and the result is a jumbled mass impression meaning just about nothing net. News columns contain item after item of the most trivial and inconsequential type. Such things are not news, in any real sense of the word, and get into papers because of an unimaginative news-gathering routine.

But even when things of real importance are in the spotlight, all too frequently no clear picture can be drawn from the newspaper account. One newspaper man was rather sharply reminded of this the other day. He had called upon a lady and the two together had listened in on a radio discussion of the Ethiopian war. When it had ended the lady turned to him and said: "I was reading about that in the paper, but I couldn't make heads or tails of it. Now I understand."

The newspaper of tomorrow must eliminate much of the mass of surface scum that gets into print. Likewise it must find the way to make the important interesting rather than merely

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to make the interesting seem important. The two conventional objections to this heresy are: first, that the newspaper is a commercial institution, to live it must have subscribers without whom advertisers will pass it by, its revenues will wither away and it will die. The second, corollary to this, is that people take a paper because they are interested in it and therefore "we must give the public what it wants." Is it not possible that this is putting the cart before the horse? Except by assumption or guess, the average editor does not know "what the public wants." One might cautiously suggest that newspapers are not necessarily and inevitably the creatures of their publics, but that they themselves can have a vast formative effect upon what the public wants. After all, the public gets what the newspaper gives it; the public is trained, habited to want what it gets. The newspaper editor who defends himself by saying that he is a mere slave of public caprice has often himself created the very public desire and demand that he deplores.

The newspaper can treat news in a constructive way just as in a sensational or destructive way. It can contribute to the inflammation of racial hatreds, religious discords, economic conflicts. It can incite the Ku Klux Klan or a mob of lynchers. And then, on the other hand, by a different treatment of the materials involved over the course of years, it can minimize frictions, keep tensions from reaching a breaking point, and aid immeasurably in promoting that understanding and good will which is such an essential lubricant for a complex society.

All this can be done, too, without any abandonment of legitimate publishing profit. Making the interesting seem important is not necessarily the only money-making method; dividends can be paid on a paper based on making the important interesting, and there are many examples to show us that a newspaper can be honorable, constructive and profitable.

Furthermore, the shape and form of the present is operating to force newspapers to do a better, a more constructive and interpretative job. For example, radio today is able to give more than interpretation; it affords almost simultaneous pub-

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lication to any spot-news event that can be anticipated. Thus scheduled occurrences such as a National Convention, the opening of Congress, a speech of the President, a broadcast of the Pope, can be put into the ether long before the great rotary presses can begin to turn. Trembling in the balance is the perfection of television, and perhaps it will not be long until not only can one hear the scheduled event but also see with one's own eyes what manner of man it is who speaks.

All these competitive devices and techniques are having a very significant impact upon the force of news in print. They should reduce newspaper zeal in being first on the streets, in having a "scoop." They are forcing a new emphasis upon giving the background and relation of the scheduled event to the whole system of news. No longer is it sufficient to present the mere surface of the stream of life. Of course the newspaper must continue to give prompt and adequate spot-news coverage to events not scheduled in advance. But in addition its staff must include men with X-ray eyes, who can see the deeper meaning of the news. This means neither cynics, nor dialecticians committed to some absolutist formula, nor philosophers, floating on a cloud. Rather, the staffs must include participating observers who know economics, social problems, public psychology and historical backgrounds; men who can take the isolated event and set it into the constellation of its significance; who can give the why as well as the how. Such a change would promise a more intelligent, a more instructive, and certainly a much more constructive press.

In these New Deal days no discussion of the newspaper is complete without something about the freedom of the press. Together with freedom of speech it is part of the basic American vocabulary of hopes and ideals. As we look about the world, we cannot help but shudder at the absolute slavery of the press to government in Russia, Italy and Germany. A free press is essential to intellectual freedom, one of the greatest things in the world, and the suppression of a free press is a real menace.

And yet some of the enemies of freedom of the press are in

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the press itself. They are men in newspaper positions who ignore the public trusteeship with which newspaper ownership is involved. Some publishers are willing to give only one side of the picture, to print half-truths or to suppress them altogether. Such men, really the enemies of their own institution, befoul their own nests and lend some color of plausibility to the people who would end the freedom of the press.

The public trusteeship of a newspaper is something in which I very much believe. A newspaper is impressed with a social obligation, and I have often thought that there is no reason why an agency so powerful in its impacts upon the public mood and will should have this power uncontrolled. But then, when one tries to think through the next step, to find some place to vest control, some mechanics of supervision that would not introduce more evils than those to be corrected, one is completely baffled. Hitler demonstrates what happens when newspaper control is vested in government. In Germany there is neither fact nor truth nor honesty to be depended upon in the statements of the Nazi press. Similarly the Russian press tells but one side of the story—a distorted story hewed to the party line. The remedy is not in the subordination of the press to government but in the reform of the newspaper from within. The public cannot afford to anaesthetize the right of the press to discuss public processes. The press itself cannot afford not to do a better job.

"Our Republic and its press will rise and fall together." So wrote the great Joseph Pulitzer in the mandate endowing Columbia's School of Journalism. And therefore "An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and a mockery. A cynical, mercenary, demagogic press will produce in time a people as base as itself. The power to mould the future of the Republic will be in the hands of the journalism of future generations." These words, written in 1904, have an even greater force today.

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Education for Negroes—Divided We Fall

EDWIN R. EMBREE

EDUCATION for all the people is the American ideal. And we have succeeded in making this ideal a reality far beyond the dreams of any other nation. The growth of the public school system is one of the wonder stories of American history. Only fifty years ago the enrollment in all schools, both public and private, was eleven million, chiefly in the elementary grades. Today it is thirty million. On the higher levels the increase has been staggering. High school enrollment has grown from a quarter of a million pupils in 1880 to seven million in 1935. Colleges and universities, two generations ago the rare privilege of an educational élite, now enroll a million and a quarter students in the various branches of higher learning. Over a million teachers are now engaged in America's task of education.

We all know that there are imperfections; admittedly there is more school attendance than real education. But the truly surprising thing is that education has been able to keep pace at all with this explosive magnification of numbers, that teachers of any sort could be recruited, given even a few ideas of subject matter and of pedagogy, and rushed to hold the educational dikes against the rising tide of millions on millions of students in ever higher branches of the school system, that the gigantic physical plant could be erected, that even passable state and local organizations could be built up for the government and direction of this mammoth and multiform school system, that people could be so persuaded of the value of education that they

Address delivered February 27, 1936 at the Department of Superintendence, St. Louis.

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would pay in taxes the nine billion dollars represented in the school plant and the two and a half billion dollars a year which is the present public school cost.

In considerable awe I stand before the official representatives of America's greatest industry, before the authors of the most lurid success story in all the spectacular history of this new nation.

My special topic is Negro education. I want to consider frankly and earnestly the faults and shortcomings of our public school system in respect to this great group, which comprises one-tenth of the population of the nation and more than one-quarter of the population of the southern states. Let us look first at the tremendous handicaps this race has had to overcome in America and the success it has already achieved.

Up to the time of emancipation—just seventy years ago—Negroes were in an entirely different status from their fellow men in America. Not only were they enslaved but by almost every measure of modern civilization they were far beneath the white population. This was not necessarily a reflection on the ability of the blacks. They had been brought from the very different cultures of the various African tribes from which they had been stolen. They were forced into a new climate, strange customs, a new labor pattern—in every way into a radically different and very complex civilization. Few of us stop to think of the difficulties of a sudden break with a civilization. What, for example, would happen to the ablest white Americans if we were suddenly dragged off to central Africa and forced into making our way in a dominant and hostile black society whose ways of life were entirely different from anything we or our fathers had ever known? We should probably die or at best become a weak and despised group, only slowly learning the high manual skills of the native craftsmen, feebly protecting ourselves against the new diseases, slowly and with outbursts of crime and disturbance fitting ourselves into a strange social and economic structure.

The African had been compelled to make just such an ad-

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justment to new conditions and strange ways of life in America. The Negro represents in his Afro-American transfer probably the most complete jump from one culture to another of any large group in all history. His achievements are the more remarkable in that he has had to make that tremendous shift in civilization without sympathetic aid by the new civilization into which he was thrown, in spite of handicaps and obstacles constantly put in the way of his adaptation and his progress.

Up to the time of emancipation, of course, the Negro was held in duress. His education was prohibited by law. His slavery kept him in a completely dependent state and prevented him from learning that independence and from exercising that initiative on which American civilization is so largely based. Furthermore, everything possible was done to cow him, to prevent him from even trying to improve his state. It was openly preached from the pulpits that he was damned with the curse of Ham. It was declared by reputable scientists that he was so inferior mentally as to be scarcely human. One parson made a popular hit with this syllogism: Man is made in the image of God; God, as everyone knows, is not a Negro; therefore, it follows that the Negro is not a man. It is easy to laugh at this extravagance today but it was eagerly accepted seventy-five years ago, and the iteration of this kind of depreciation year after year not only affected the attitude of the whites but scarred the spirit and depressed the ambition of the Negro.

Much of this ancient myth still persists in the more backward regions today. In spite of the repeated statements of scientists that no innate differences in mental abilities of races can be proved, in the face of the most brilliant achievements of individual Negro scholars and artists, there is still a considerable folklore in the backwashes of America to the effect that the Negro, dark descendant of Ham, is an innately inferior race, that if he is a son of God at all he is at best a stepchild.

Emancipation (and the amendments to the Constitution which followed it) removed the grossest of the handicaps and restrictions. But it removed also the earlier supports. From the

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depths of slavery with its complete dependence and ignorance the Negroes were suddenly hurled into an equally terrifying freedom. With the old supports removed they were expected overnight to acquire all the attributes of independent citizens in a very complex civilization. This was impossible and their condition was in many respects more precarious after emancipation than before. By the Proclamation they were given freedom of person only. No edict would in itself give them education, economic competence, knowledge of the laws of health, acquaintance and skill in the ways of life which characterized nineteenth-century America. All of the attributes of real independence this race has had to win for itself slowly and painfully during the years since nominal freedom was flung at it during the turbulence of the Civil War. The history of Negro progress since 1863 is simply the story of his struggle to gain that real independence which no edict could give him: education, health, economic status, self-respect, and the delicate balance between self-expression and self-control. That he has advanced so far is a tribute to his own abilities and to the steadily increasing interest and support of his white neighbors.

The crude measure of his progress is literacy. At emancipation less than 5 per cent of the 1,500,000 slaves and free persons of color could read and write. Today, just two generations (seventy years) later, well over 80 per cent of the 12,000,000 Negroes in America are literate. By every other measure of educational achievement Negroes have made progress that would not have been believed remotely possible even a generation ago. John C. Calhoun used to say, "Show me a nigger who can parse a Greek verb or do a problem in Euclid and I will admit he is a human being like unto ourselves." Of course this test has been met so many times that the pronouncement he thought unanswerable now sounds merely silly. In the most recondite aspect of biology—genetics and cytology—Dr. E. E. Just of Howard University is one of America's leading research scientists. In my recent study of American universities, which attracted a good deal of attention in the *Atlantic Monthly* last

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spring, it was perfectly evident that second only to Howard Odum's Institute for Social Science Research at the University of North Carolina, the most distinguished and most scholarly department at any southern university was the Department of Social Studies under the Negro scholar, Charles S. Johnson, at Fisk University. Negro students in the unsegregated colleges and universities of the North annually carry off a share of the very highest honors in scholarship as well as in sports and all other competitive activities.

Meanwhile Negroes have continued to make their own special contributions to American life, especially in folk music and folk art and more recently in the formal expression of these same gifts in the fine arts. The rich music of the spirituals, the characteristic rhythms of jazz, the ebullient imagery and tall-tales of folklore—all these are colorful gifts to a nation otherwise relatively barren and dull in its folk art. The more recent crystallization of this urge to expression in the fine arts is equally a national contribution: the singing of Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Marion Anderson; the compositions of William Grant Still, Rosamond Johnson, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and Clarence Cameron White; the dramatic contributions of *The Green Pastures* and *Porgy* and a whole series of both revues and tragic roles; the sculpture of Augusta Savage and the painting of Tanner, Barthe, Aaron Douglas, and Norman Lewis; the writing of James Weldon Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, and Langston Hughes. Negroes, when granted the opportunity, have given abundant proof of their ability to master the highest reaches of modern civilization and to make their own distinctive contributions to American life.

Let us consider just what opportunities are being offered to them, specifically in the field of education since education is the recognized means of introduction to full participation in modern life. In this we must concentrate our attention upon the South since that is where four-fifths of the race still live and since in southern states, denied access to the general school system, the race must gain its education in segregated schools.

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Education for Negroes—Divided We Fall

Even with all the well-known handicaps and discriminations the Negro's progress in education is impressive. Today 2,500,000 Negro children are enrolled in the 25,000 elementary schools in the seventeen southern states which have segregated school systems. This leaves nearly 900,000 southern colored children of elementary school age for whom there are no schools or who for one reason or another are not in school. Poor as this record of only 70 per cent attendance is for America—which has set the ideal of common schooling for all children—it still shows that Negroes in the South are in school in a higher proportion than is true of the general populations of any nation of the world, excepting only the countries of western Europe, Japan, and white America.

At the higher educational levels the development has been slower but progress is well under way. In the southern segregated system 150,000 Negroes are in 2,000 schools of secondary level. In specifically Negro institutions the college enrollment has multiplied twenty-fivefold in thirty-five years, from less than one thousand in 1900 to 25,000 in 1934-35. In addition to many notable private Negro universities, three of which are among the leading scholarly institutions of the South regardless of race, every southern state maintains at least one college for Negroes, largely for the training of teachers, and many of the states maintain more than one such college. Congress by direct appropriations—which recently have averaged well over a million dollars a year—supports Howard University in Washington, the only national university we have in the sense of receiving its support directly from the national treasury.

When one remembers that preceding emancipation there were in effect no schools for Negroes whatever but a defiant opposition to the idea of educating Negroes, the present achievements are revolutionary. In 1835, for example, the legislature of North Carolina passed an act prohibiting public instruction of Negroes and providing specifically that the public school system thereafter should never extend any of its

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benefits to any descendant of Negro ancestors even to the fourth generation. Today, just one hundred years later, that state is leading the nation in its provision of public instruction for Negroes, with 2,514 public schools, 147 of them at high school level, five state-supported colleges, and an annual public expenditure for Negro education of over $5,000,000. The nation and the South have given support to colored schools and the Negroes have been eager and successful in taking advantage of the facilities.

But from the standpoint of democracy the support of Negro education is still grudging and unfair. Having recognized the facilities provided and the progress made, let us look at the cold facts of discrimination in the year of our Lord 1936, in a public system consecrated to the principle of education for all the people. The average for all the southern states for which figures are available is an annual expenditure on education of $12.57 per Negro pupil as contrasted with $44.31 per white pupil. These figures are the more depressing when it is remembered that the South, which is poorer than other sections, pays less than half as much even for the education of its white children as the nation as a whole, where the average pupil expenditure is $99 a year. The story in its stark reality is that the average Negro child gets only about one-quarter as much schooling as his southern white neighbor, only one-eighth the schooling which the nation as a whole deems proper for its children. In certain of the states of the deep South the discrepancy is still greater. Georgia spends an average of $35.42 for each white pupil and $6.38 for each Negro, Mississippi $45.34 per pupil for whites and $5.45 for Negroes. Children of the 3,000,000 Negroes of the deep South have less than one-fifteenth the opportunity for education open to the average American child.

This shocking picture can be elaborated from every conceivable angle. For example, the value of school plant and equipment averages in the South in the white schools $157 per pupil; in the colored schools $37 per pupil. The discrepancies are

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expressed in shabby buildings—a disgrace to the American public school system—in rickety hand-me-down furniture, in inadequate teaching equipment of every sort, in tattered textbooks or often no books at all, in poorly-trained and abominably-paid teachers, in school terms so short that the pupils scarcely get started at their learning before they are again turned out into the fields. To all this Booker Washington had a clever quip. "The Negro child may be smart," he said, "but it's paying him too great a compliment to expect him to learn in three months what it takes the white child eight months to master." It is good that Negroes can still laugh at their plight. But to us who are directing the American public school system these discriminations should be no laughing matter.

On the grounds of democracy, humanity, and sportsmanship the case for equal and adequate schools for all the people is so self-evident that fair-minded men cannot question it. But the case for adequate Negro schools rests on much more immediate and more selfish grounds than humanitarianism and fair play. My plea for reform is rooted in nothing more ethereal than the good, old-fashioned principle of enlightened selfishness. In modern civilization individuals and groups are closely interdependent. Progress for any group is facilitated or retarded by the progress or backwardness of all other groups. Let us look for a moment—purely selfishly—at ways in which white and Negro progress are tied together. In health the connection is clearest.

Germs of disease recognize no color line, obey no Jim Crow laws. Tuberculosis—sometimes called the white plague—is three times as common among Negroes as among whites. With the intimate associations between white and colored, especially in the South—mammies, servants, children—this disease is easily and quickly passed back and forth. If any community wants to rid itself of tuberculosis, if any individual wants to be safe in his own person from this dread disease, he must attack it at its source in the individuals and groups which have it. "The best way to improve the white tuberculosis rate," health

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officials declare, "is to concentrate on health measures for Negroes." Measles, typhoid, hookworm, the venereal diseases, scarlet fever, eye infections, common colds and influenzas—all these are passed back and forth between the races. Many diseases can be checked simply by sanitation of the environment but most of them are passed directly from person to person. And these last are just the ones which can be curbed only by education—not only education in the cure and prevention of the specific diseases but general education to hygienic habits and higher standards of living.

In crime it is clear that the total population is at the mercy of its individual criminals and gangs. The crime rate among Negroes is high. This is explained partly by the fact that the police arrest Negroes for trivial offences or on the flimsiest suspicions and that judges and juries sentence them without the scrupulous attention to justice accorded white suspects. But after all such allowances the Negro rates of crime and delinquency are still far higher than for other groups of the population—except certain immigrant gangs. Now crime is today universally admitted by authoritative students of the subject to be due to bad living conditions, bad associations especially in childhood and adolescence, and to lack of proper education and of proper outlets. Millions of dollars now spent in southern states on police officers, jails, and penitentiaries might be saved if it were put into schools, parks, and recreational facilities. And—quite aside from questions of expense—life and the orderly progress of society would be far safer if the energy and money now spent on repression were put into education instead. The claim is sometimes made by prejudiced persons, often influenced by demagogues, that education makes the Negro more dangerous, more liable to crime. Just the opposite, of course, is proved by all careful studies of crime and education. A Birmingham judge recently remarked, "No Negro has ever been brought into my court who had passed the sixth grade in school." Particularly are crimes of violence notoriously the work of ignorant savages—whether black or white. Education, in its

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broadest sense, is the chief protection of any community against crime and disorder, and the wise society is that which guarantees this education to the very groups whose disorder it might fear.

In modern business and economic prosperity the interdependence of all groups is a truism. We are seeing this more clearly every day and are recognizing that the living standards of the poor are the measure of the prosperity of the community and the nation. The depression was caused and the rich made bankrupt because poor people ceased to buy. The Ford automobile plant, the Standard Oil Company, the power and light companies, the cotton trade—all forms of industry and agriculture—are kept going not by millionaires but by the purchases of millions of common men. General Wood, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, said to me the other day, "If the Negroes of the South were raised to the standard of living of the average American, the wheels of every kind of industry would begin to turn at a rate never before dreamed of even in our greatest boom days." A rise in the standard of living of the Negroes is the surest way to prosperity for the South. And education is the surest means of raising living standards.

Just one other realm—the moral or spiritual. It is impossible to mistreat an individual or a class without great injury to the persons doing it. The greatest pall on the South is the bitterness of the race question. And the hatreds, injustices, and discriminations react even more evilly on the white population than on the Negroes. The race issue has corrupted the whole Christian Church. For how can one preach and profess a religion of brotherly love and the golden rule while he is discriminating against one class of his neighbors at every turn. No wonder the southern church has gone fundamentalist. Unable to reconcile their practices with the teachings of Jesus—which in essence are nothing but the common fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—the parsons and parishioners simply have to turn back to the Old Testament and concentrate their devotion on the fig leaves of Adam and Eve and the gastronomic

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problems of Jonah and the whale. Lynchings are terrible ordeals for the victims but they are very much worse for the white mobs—often including women and children—who stultify anything fine in their natures by gloating over the fiendish and obscene tortures. The danger of lynching is not in the hurt to the comparatively few unfortunates who are strung up annually but in the effect on the social institutions which sustain these nauseous carnivals of sadism. In spite of the intelligence and sportsmanship of an increasing number of individuals and leaders the great stumbling-block to spiritual development in the South is the ease with which any white man can give himself a vulgar reflex of superiority by shouting "nigger" at some unoffending neighbor who may be in every way—mentally, morally, and spiritually—better than the poor white who insults him.

The evils of discrimination could be elaborated *ad nauseum.* What I call attention to specifically are the direful consequences, not to the Negroes but to the whites, of the present unfairness and discrimination. Booker Washington again had a pat distillation of wisdom for this situation. "You cannot hold a Negro in the gutter," said he, "unless some white man stays in the gutter to hold him there."

One of the overt discriminations against the Negro today is the public school system. The surest way for the white South to make its own progress on the continuing road of civilization, and the only way for it to save its own soul, is to remedy this disparity in educational opportunity.

It is often argued that we cannot afford more schools for Negroes. I say unto you that we cannot afford not to provide education for the entire people. We in America can afford anything we really want. Our country is rich in a sense that no other nation has ever been rich.

At a turning point in American history a great man said, "This nation cannot exist half slave and half free." And a modern state cannot progress with one half trying to go forward and at the same time trying to hold the other half back.

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A Civilization by Osmosis—Ancient China

C. W. BISHOP

CONCERNING the relationship of Chinese civilization to that of the Occident, there have been held in the past two diametrically opposed theories. One of these, resting its case upon certain striking similarities in detail, has maintained that civilization was brought to China ready-made, from one or other of the early culture centers of the Old World—Babylonia, India, or Egypt. The other view has been that it was wholly of independent and native origin, taking shape in complete isolation in China itself. Neither of these opinions has had any real evidence to support it.

The past few years have witnessed a great increase in our knowledge of the way in which cultural progress and diffusion have always gone on, the world over. Especially has this been true of China. Thus it has grown more and more apparent that the truth regarding the rise of civilization in that country lies somewhere between the two extreme views just stated. For that civilization has on the one hand displayed throughout its history qualities which stamp it as characteristically and unmistakably Chinese, while on the other recent investigations have shown that many of its fundamental elements have originated in various western lands, to appear in China very much later.

The solution of our problem naturally depends upon a right understanding of the factors involved. Let us therefore make clear to ourselves just what are the geographical relations of that region which we now call "China" to those other portions of the Old World in which civilization arose in ancient times.

A glance at a map, or better still, at a globe, will show that, situated as it is, far away in southeastern Asia, China occupies a position marginal and exterior to the other great civilized areas of antiquity. In spite, however, of intervening distance, the two extremities of the continent have never within recent geological times been wholly shut off from contacts of many

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kinds with each other. On the contrary, they are linked by two great routes of migration, traversed constantly by plants, animals, men, and ideas. The longer of these natural thoroughfares, the famous "corridor of the steppes," was that followed, for example, by the Huns, the Mongols, and many other nomad peoples in their invasions of Europe. It connects northwestern China, by way of Central Asia, with the regions about the Black and the Caspian Seas. The second route, shorter but more difficult, joins western China with the country about the head of the Bay of Bengal and so with the basins of the Ganges and the Indus. The ocean in early days was a barrier instead of an aid to human movement; hence its part in the story of China's cultural development was negligible until sailing-ships from western lands began to appear in Far Eastern waters, around the beginning of the Christian Era.

One very significant fact impresses itself upon us at this point in our inquiry. With hardly an exception, the successive advances in the development of the Chinese civilization during the earlier period make their appearance first not far from the point where the eastern gateway of the "steppe corridor" opens out upon the alluvial plains of northern China.

It is there, for example, that we encounter the most highly developed aspects of the Chinese Neolithic Period or Late Stone Age, characterized by a fine type of painted pottery whose closest western analogues occur in Chinese Turkestan and southern Russia. In northwestern China, again, do we find the earliest indications anywhere in eastern Asia of a dawning acquaintance with metals—copper and gold. And it is in the same general region that recent research has disclosed the oldest remains yet known of the historical Chinese civilization. These belong to the latter half of the second millennium before our Era, when China had already entered upon her Bronze Age—the stage of culture in which she was destined to remain for almost a thousand years longer. This civilization, when reliable and continuous history begins in China, in the ninth century B.C., was in process of extending itself steadily eastward and

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southward. A few hundred years later it had reached the seaboard, having in the interval begun to pass from an Age of Bronze into one of Iron.

Another point is, that few if any of these successive advances in the Chinese civilization seem to have evolved directly and naturally out of their predecessors. On the contrary, progress in China, as in other lands, has very often been associated with the impact of cultural stimuli from abroad. Illustrative of this phenomenon is the fact that almost without exception, the cultivated plants and domestic animals utilized by the Chinese have been of foreign origin.

Thus rice and probably millet, though known in China since Neolithic times, are not native there, but have spread thither from northeastern India. Wheat, already long cultivated in the Near East by the fourth millennium B.C., is not found in China until the second millennium. Except in a few limited areas in which occur Mediterranean varieties apparently introduced in recent centuries, the Chinese wheats are the same as those grown far earlier in southwestern Asia. So too with sugarcane, cotton, maize, potatoes, tobacco, and many other important cultivated plants—these likewise have been introduced into China from other lands.

We find the same thing true regarding most if not all of China's domestic animals and birds. The domestic fowl does not occur there on Neolithic sites, but appears during the Bronze Age, as an importation from Farther India. In the Near East of the fourth millennium B.C., again, cattle had already long been domesticated, in the fullest sense of the word. They were intelligently cared for, in pasture and in byre; they were offered in sacrifice; their flesh was eaten; their hides were tanned; and they were used in labor, with the plow and the cart and probably also as pack-animals. Moreover a well-developed dairy economy had been worked out; cows had been bred to produce milk in excess of the needs of their calves—something that their wild progenitors did not do; this milk was drunk; and of it were made butter, cheese, curds, and whey. In China,

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on the other hand, domestic cattle are not known until the second millennium before our Era; nor do they seem to have been derived from any native wild species. Further, they were by no means so completely utilized as they had been in the Near East at least two thousand years earlier. Thus the Chinese did not use the ox in agriculture until around the fourth century B.C. Even today their diet does not include milk or its products.

Similarly in the Near East sheep had already long been domesticated by the fourth millennium before our Era. They had even been bred to produce wool—something which must have required a very long time, since wild sheep do not grow fleeces. This wool was further woven into fine fabrics, put to a variety of uses. In China the common domestic sheep are derived not from any native wild form but from a Western species also ancestral to the domestic sheep of the ancient Near East and of prehistoric Europe. They first appear in China somewhere around the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and even then they are valued chiefly for their flesh and their skins and not at all for their fleece; in fact the Chinese have never made or used woolen cloth.

The horse, again, is not found in the Chinese Neolithic Period save toward its very end, and even then apparently only in its wild state. As a domestic animal it first definitely occurs there during the first half of the second millennium B.C. Just as in Asia Minor, Babylonia, and northwestern India, so in China too it was undoubtedly introduced from those grasslands of eastern Europe and western Asia where it was first brought under subjection by man. The two-humped domestic camel, from Central Asiatic regions, seems to have been known to the Assyrians as early as the ninth century B.C., but it does not appear in China until shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era. Much the same thing is true of the domestic ass, now so common in northern China but coming originally from northeastern Africa.

A similar state of affairs exists in connection with many other elements of the ancient Chinese civilization. Thus in the

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Near East we are able to trace the art of metal-working from very primitive beginnings through a long period of evolution, until by the fourth millennium B.C. it had reached a high state of development. In China, on the contrary, metal-working is not known until very much later; nor has anything ever been found to suggest that it was invented there independently.

A further instance of the same sort is the use of the wheel in transportation. This practice was already known in the Near East in the Uruk phase of prehistoric Mesopotamian civilization, beginning around 4000 B.C. In China, on the other hand, wheeled vehicles do not appear until well along in the second millennium; and when they do come into use there, it is in several already specialized forms. Of these, one was the horse-drawn chariot, which the ancient Chinese nobles used in war, pageantry, and the chase exactly as did the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and other peoples of the ancient Near East.

The foregoing illustrations, with many others which might easily be adduced, unite to show that the process of cultural advancement in China in ancient times was precisely similar in kind to that which has been at work throughout her history, and never more actively than it is today.

Thus, apparently during the early part of the second millennium before our Era, China acquired—just how we do not yet know—many of the basic discoveries and inventions which had been made in the Near East some thousands of years earlier. Among these were the utilization of the more important cultivated plants and domestic animals, the working of metals, and the use of the wheel in transportation. These and other culture-traits superimposed themselves upon the already existing indigenous cultures and interacted with them. The outgrowth of this process was the Chinese civilization of historical times—a civilization entitled in many important respects to rank among the greatest that the world has yet seen.

In like manner, the Chinese of today have begun to adopt many of the inventions and discoveries made in the Occident in more recent times—among them, for instance, steam and motor

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transport, the airplane, and various applications of electricity. None of these things have the Chinese invented for themselves; all are "culture loans" introduced from foreign lands. Yet that the Chinese people will in time completely assimilate them and integrate them with their own great heritage to build up a new Chinese civilization, no one can doubt. Indeed the process, although obscured and frequently delayed by the travail and disorder and experimentation now going on, has already made a substantial beginning.

Women Workers Have Come Through

LORINE PRUETTE

THE great army of working women, nearly 11,000,000 strong, has in the last few years met a major economic crisis; now that recovery appears to be under way it becomes appropriate to inquire what these years have done to women workers, how they have survived these crucial times and what possibilities lie immediately before them.

When the bleak years first began the cry was heard that the women workers should go back home and give the men a chance. That cry still echoes here and there and certain employers have undoubtedly discriminated against women workers, particularly against married women. But nothing upsets the woman worker of intelligence and some achievement more than this blanket prescription. She resents the implication that there is a good home waiting to receive her and the further implication that her withdrawal from the occupational world would mean no loss to the economic order. "If I gave up my job," declared a publicity director, "I could have a place to sleep and something to eat in my father's home. But I think a number of persons would be worse off—all the people who provide me with the services I

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could not pay for then. For instance, the suite of rooms I occupy would be empty, the hairdresser I visit each week would see me seldom if at all, the restaurants I eat in three times a day would lose me, the clothes I buy would not be bought, the theatres I go to would have another empty seat, the golf club would have to do without my dues, the steamship company I patronized this summer—I could go on with the list. In addition, the two girls I clothe would not have what they have now, the charities I contribute to would have so much less, and so on. And it is my belief, possibly mistaken I grant, that I am doing a good job and contributing by that much to the building up of my country."

One of the facts to emerge from studies made in recent times concerns this very question of the contributions which women workers make to others. The notion that the woman worker is at most responsible for her own support only has long been resented by working women. In spite of earlier reports from the Women's Bureau and more recent studies by women's organizations, old arguments and traditional views die hard. The American Woman's Association has completed a survey of employment problems among its members and reports that 49 per cent of the group studied are responsible for the partial or total support of others. It also reports a very sharp increase in dependents during the last few years. In the fifth year of the depression 597 AWA members were carrying financial burdens for 1408 others, an average of 2.4 dependents, a figure higher than the average family per woman graduate in many colleges. Since the majority of these members were unmarried it is not surprising to find greater responsibilities for adults than for children. The Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs reports that 64 per cent of more than 14,000 women members are responsible for the total or partial support of others, a figure that represents an increase over the earlier report, issued in the first years of the depression. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor finds that one-tenth of the unemployed women may be classed as heads of families, as compared with one-half of the unemployed men. Women whose salaries bring them within the in-

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come-tax ranges declare that regardless of the number of persons she supports it is exceedingly difficult for a woman to secure exemptions as the head of a family. With such information increasing it becomes obvious that the employer who boldly discriminates against the woman worker on the grounds that she has no one else to support acts unjustly as concerns the woman and very possibly unwisely as concerns the public welfare.

Some companies have dismissed married women workers or offered them a bonus to leave, and a great many cities refuse to allow the woman teacher who marries to continue her teaching. In addition there appears a tendency to restrict the more highly paid jobs to men and where it is necessary to amalgamate jobs to combine them under a man. Employment experts report that this has happened in many cases to the women buyers of department stores, formerly among the important executives in this field. Women at the bottom of the economic ladder continue to have the "opportunity" to undercut the men workers; strangely enough, although the practice has always been condemned by the trade unions, many of these organizations continue to accept lower wages for women than for men; and a number of the NRA codes (120 out of the first 464 codes) permitted women workers to be paid lower wages than the men. As long as this is the case employers will not be likely to reject women workers in these occupations, and on *a priori* grounds we should expect the woman worker in the upper levels of professional and clerical work to be most in danger of being eliminated from her field.

Women in clerical and professional positions have certainly known unemployment in the last few years, as shown by the study of the American Woman's Association, but, considering all the elements, it is perhaps surprising that they have not had a higher percentage of unemployment. These are women, however, of superior education and considerable maturity who have been working on the average for 16 years. Their salaries are high, with a number in the $10,000 class and with an average salary of $2500 in 1933, twice as much as the average earnings for the country in the boom year of 1929, which have been

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given as $1250. With the great competition for good jobs in recent years the fact that these women have not been dislodged is an impressive testimony to the way in which women workers have made themselves part of the economic structure of the country. In 1933 of the 1202 women studied 11 per cent were found to be unemployed. This is a much lower percentage than that for women in all occupational levels and suggests that trained women workers are much more difficult to "send home" than is sometimes thought.

The whole story, however, is not told by this. These women out of work at the close of the study do not represent the true burden of the last few years or even the employment casualties. Among the women in this small group who reported themselves as employed at the time of the study there were more than 200 who at some time in recent years had known what it was to hunt for work and not to find it. Out of 1202 salaried women 354 had been unemployed during some part of the period 1929–1933. These women are employment casualties. Each of them has had to make her own readjustments to a strange and sometimes terrifying world. They belonged to a generation of women which stressed and exulted in the importance of "jobs for women" and they had known the crest of the wave which began for women workers during the World War. During recent years they have had to meet doubt and distrust and fear, loss of morale and disturbance of established ways of living.

Such women probably did not have to go hungry. Nevertheless the humiliating and disruptive shifts which educated women have resorted to in order to hide their economic distress from their friends must be included in any appraisal of social loss growing out of the fantastic economic chaos that is just behind us. Even in this relatively secure, highly trained and ambitious group of women, in the rich city of New York, more than 30 per cent have been out of work at some time during the depression years. Not only were they out of work; they were out of work a long time—on the average 16 months. About 30 per cent lost about 30 per cent of their time through unemployment.

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Did the country lose anything by the break in the working lives of these women? After spending vast sums to educate them, to keep them healthy, to protect them from danger, to make laws for them, to provide recreation for them, and to bring them at last into a period when they could contribute something useful by their work, the state lost or threw away 464 years of work which these women were trained and eager to offer.

Nevertheless, we must not forget that most of these women have found their way back to employment, although in many cases their present positions are less desirable than those they lost. Since one job leads to another, much more plausibly than unemployment leads to employment, the fact that 63 per cent of the women who were unemployed during the depression have now found employment should carry a note of encouragement to other women workers who seem for the moment to have lost out in the struggle for employment.

Of the group of women studied 60 per cent state that their salaries have decreased during the last five years, a decrease at a time when most might normally have expected a definite increase in salaries as they gained in experience. Thirteen per cent have had this increase; 27 per cent have maintained their salaries unchanged. Since the cost of living has been declining during this period, women who have kept the same salaries may be considered to be in a better economic position than at the beginning. Consequently 40 per cent of the total may be classed as victorious in the economic struggle during the depression.

In spite of this very considerable measure of success almost all the women report that they have cut the budget of their expenditures, making it clear that fear as well as necessity is operating to change the spending habits of this group. Almost a fourth had made cuts of 50 per cent or more, but the largest group had cut between 20 and 30 per cent. In earlier times such women had been open-handed consumers, spending their incomes with a certain gay insouciance. Now the women who once boasted of their $35 hats wear their $3.50 hats with an equal pride.

What is sometimes termed the Consumers' Strike is suggested

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here. The budgets of these women have been cut more than their salaries. When earnings decline and the threat of unemployment becomes greater, the balancing of the budget becomes of more vital concern. Fear, as well as necessity, has closed the pocketbooks of the nation, and fear has held bank deposits idle until spending has come to be urged as a patriotic measure. So the economist's vicious cycle has repeated itself: fewer things bought, fewer things made, fewer workers paid, fewer dollars earned, fewer things bought, etc. The 1000 women reporting cuts in their expenditures are inevitably, as consumers, curtailing the possibilities of earnings for others. The very important dress industry is vitally concerned by the fact that in such a group as these women executives, lawyers, doctors, teachers, 82 per cent have cut their dress allowance and more than one-fourth have made the greatest cut of all in clothes. The successful woman worker has been very fond of travel, both in this country and abroad. She has ridden across the desert in her own car, stepped nonchalantly in and out of airplanes, climbed mountains, visited caves, gone for Mediterranean cruises and adventured into the Far East, and her wandering habits have been a source of income to ships and railroads, to hotels and gasoline companies and airplane manufacturers. Now comes information from this group of AWA members that 74 per cent have cut their travel expenditures. Slightly more than a fifth have made their greatest economies here. Almost any theatre audience seems to show a preponderance of women, whether the attraction be drama, music or cinema. Almost as many women have made their greatest cut in these amusements as have made their severest cut in travel, and 79 per cent of the group report that they have curtailed their allowance for such diversions. The New York woman has liked to be well-housed and for her smart apartments and comfortable apartment-hotels she has sometimes paid staggering prices. Now we find that more than half the women of the group have cut down on this expense and that 17 per cent have chosen this as the item on which to make their greatest economies. Women have doubled up on apartments,

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have taken a single room instead of a suite, or have moved into inexpensive rooming houses, leaving New York's great buildings soaring toward the skies with many empty rooms and darkened windows. Although half the women have made some cut in expenditure for food, few of them have made their greatest cuts here. And scarcely any have made their greatest cuts in medical care. The only remaining high percentage of curtailment is of books and periodicals. To publishers and magazine editors it will not be news that 49 per cent have cut expenditures in these fields.

This country has at length learned that if the consumer stops consuming the worker stops working, and the importance of the consumer is at last beginning to be recognized. It has been emphasized in recent years that a great part of the purchasing of consumers' goods, those perishables like shoes and ties and canned goods and cosmetics for which there is a steady and recurrent need, lies in the hands of women. It is customary to think of these purchasers as the housewives of the country, and there is no question that the 23,000,000 home-makers are performing a valuable function as buyers for their families. Less attention is paid to the fact that 11,000,000 working women have developed their own habits of spending and that a variety of services has been developed to meet the needs of women who work outside the home and have their own earnings to spend. The woman worker must be considered as an important consumer; if her buying power is sharply curtailed or eliminated all the persons now engaged in catering to her special needs will have their own livelihoods threatened if not destroyed. A great many activities, from laundering to teaching, which the 19th century took out of the home will have to be to a considerable degree returned to the home because there will be an army of superfluous women who must find something to do in the home, and there will be less money in many homes with which to pay for outside services.

There remains the final question, raised half-humorously by the woman executive quoted at the beginning, the question of the contribution being made by women as workers outside the home. They think they are contributing something, these women teach-

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ing in the schools, nursing in the hospitals, bending over test-tubes in laboratories, writing in newspaper offices, "taking dictation," typing, filing, keeping books and records. The developments of this century and specifically of the depression years would seem to indicate that society, in spite of sporadic criticisms, agrees with them. Each decade has provided opportunities for more women to find gainful employment, not only more single women but more married women as well. And a great many thousands have now been working a very long time. The fact that even in the depression years so many of them have retained their jobs seems to be evidence that they are filling functions from which they cannot easily be spared.

More than 30 per cent of the AWA women had worked for 20 years or more, their numbers including youngsters with one year's experience as well as veterans of more than 40 years' service, in a few cases of 48 years. Such women have made a real investment in the occupational world; their lives directly contradict the old conception of the woman worker who fills in a few years while waiting for a husband. These women are caught in the occupational system as definitely as their husbands and brothers; they are working for bread and butter, and economic uncertainty and insecurity threaten their lives as surely as they threaten the lives of men.

Such women would say that employment is not a matter of sex and that they want to share in building a world where there will be greater security for all workers, for the housewife in the home whose life-work is cruelly threatened by the loss of work for the head of the family, for the man who works for a salary, and for the woman in the same situation. They would say that they are an integral part of the economic structure of the country and that they cannot be dislodged from their position without a change in our national philosophy and the adoption of distinctly unAmerican methods.

If the women workers are drawn from occupational levels such as those represented by the AWA study, with the very high average salaries of $2500 and a range that runs up beyond

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$13,000, they might continue the argument by pointing out that they have power both as consumers and as workers and that in any scheme for remodeling society nearer to our hearts' desire they expect to make this power felt. It may be well to recall that such groups are scattered among the 11,000,000 women workers. Women came into industry so humbly, following the tasks which had been taken out of their homes, and they have in the last hundred years so often been exploited that it is desirable to look at such groups and to consider what power they represent. These are not women workers tied to a machine, working for a bare living, undercutting the wages of men. These are not ignorant, frightened, or defrauded women, not waspish spinsters, toiling at any tasks they can find because they have been so unfortunate as not to secure a "natural protector" to pay their bills. They are women whose tasks are interesting; who work because they want to as well as because, like most of us, they have to; and who are not afraid to tackle the difficult problems connected with combining marriage and a gainful occupation.

They have the power of competent, educated, and well-paid women who work at interesting jobs. They know that their future depends upon the development of a civilized society and that they have much to lose by the continuance of economic chaos, much to gain from a planned and ordered system which has regard for a decent standard of living and for the rights of men and women in employment. The economic crisis of recent years has affected more women workers than any other in the history of the country. They have not come out of the struggle without scars; lowered incomes and the panic of unemployment have threatened them if not actually touched them, and in many cases they have gone through very difficult periods of readjustment. But the important thing to note is that they have come through, and that although there is grumbling and complaint the women workers may feel that the very difficulties of recent years have established and confirmed them as a part of the continuing economic structure.

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Liberalism and Allegiances

THERE is perhaps no word in the English language which has been more loosely used and abused than the word "liberalism." In my own experience I have known it applied to people because they happened to believe in the theory of evolution, because they were interested in the problem of race relationships, and again because they participated in communistic activities. Particularly is this true, that people whose thought is radical are confused with those whose thought is liberal. The two points of view are entirely different. The radical is essentially illiberal, intolerant and coercive. In a narrow sense again the term liberal is applied to political parties or to sections of political parties. According as circumstances indicate, politicians take shelter under the term or disclaim it without any sense of its significance. Liberalism is not a platform, it is not a creed, it is a point of view. In the actual details of his beliefs the liberal of today may differ entirely from the liberal of fifty years ago. What joins him to his predecessor is an attitude or, if you please, a philosophy. Men of liberal temper may differ greatly in their particular allegiances. They belong to different political parties, to all sorts of religious sects, to all kinds of schools of thought about the details of education and government, but there is something central and fundamental which unites them all. What that is has never been better expressed than by John Morley in his *Recollections* and I am glad, with the permission of the publisher, the Macmillan Company, to present his views herewith:

Alike with those who adore and those who detest it, the dominating force in the living mind of Europe for a long generation after the over-

NOTE.—From time to time THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR expects to publish quotations like the above, selected by members of its Editorial Board for the character of the ideas presented or the manner of presentation.

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throw of the French monarchy in 1830 has been that marked way of looking at things, feeling them, handling them, judging main actors in them for which, with a hundred kaleidoscopic turns, the accepted name is Liberalism. It is a summary term with many extensive applications; people are not always careful to sort them out, and they are by no means always bound to one another. There are as many differences in Liberalism in different ages and communities as there are in the attributes imputed to that great idol of the world which has been glorified under the name of Republic, though the system of the American Republic is one thing, and the working principles of the French Republic are another, and the republic in the north of the American continent has little in common with either system or spirit in the republics of the south.

Respect for the dignity and worth of the individual is its root. It stands for pursuit of social good against class interest or dynastic interest. It stands for the subjection to human judgment of all claims of external authority, whether in an organized Church, or in more loosely gathered societies of believers, or in books held sacred. In law-making it does not neglect the higher characteristics of human nature, it attends to them first. In executive administration, though judge, gaoler, and perhaps the hangman will be indispensable, still mercy is counted a wise supplement to terror. General Gordon spoke a noble word for Liberalist ideas when he upheld the sovereign duty of trying to creep under men's skins—only another way of putting the Golden Rule. The whole creed is a good deal too comprehensive to be written out here, and it is far more than a formalized creed. Treitschke, the greatest of modern absolutists, lays it down that everything new that the nineteenth century has erected is the work of Liberalism. Needless to say we use the mighty word in its large, far-spreading, continental sense, not merely in the zone of English politics and party. It is worth noting that a strange and important liberalising movement of thought had awakened the mind of New England with Emerson for its noble and pure-hearted preacher in 1837. The duty of mental detachment, the supreme claim of the individual conscience spread from religious opinion to the conduct of life and its interwoven social relations. Not a reading man, Emerson said with a twinkle of good humor, but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat-pocket. *The Blithedale Romance* and Walden are enough to tell us what this strange disquiet came to. In deeper, graver, more extensive shape, the like new-born ideals of simplification, release, enlarged outlook as to Labour, Property, War, political Rule, excited like a flaming comet the reflective imagination all over Europe in 1848.

HARRY WOODBURN CHASE.

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Untrained Clergy

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

THE appearance in 1934 of the four massive volumes which sum up the result of the most recent study of ministerial education in America, makes it appropriate to bring to the readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR some important issues which the study raises for those who are responsible for professional education.

This investigation differs from some others which have been made in the field of professional education. It differs, in the first place, in that while it is a technical study carried on by an independent body, it owed its existence to the initiative of the theological schools that are the subject of the study and could count at all stages upon their active co-operation and support. It differs, in the second place, in that it included, with the study of the institutions devoted to the education of the ministry, a survey of the field in which the minister's work must be done. In this respect it parallels most closely the comprehensive report on medical education which sums up the results of ten years of study carried on by a representative committee under the chairmanship of ex-President Lowell of Harvard. That report also has much to say of the conditions under which the doctor must do his work. And this fact gives it exceptional significance for those who must plan for medical education in the future.

The facts brought to light by the present study of ministerial education are serious enough. It is shown that of the 200,000 Protestant congregations in the United States some 80,000, or more than a third of the whole, must depend upon the part-time services of a minister; while of the 150,000 Protestant ministers listed in the Census of 1926, less than half have had either a college or a seminary training, and less than a third of

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all American ministers have had both a seminary and a college training. When one remembers that during the early days of this country it was the ministry which held aloft the standards of culture, that most of the liberal arts colleges were founded to supply an educated ministry, and that while the standards in the other learned professions have been steadily rising, those in the ministry have been, with notable exceptions, declining; when it is further realized that the demands made upon the minister are constantly increasing and the subjects on which he is supposed to be qualified to give advice are growing more technical every day; when, in addition, the fact is borne in mind that at the very time when the demands upon the prospective candidates are increasing, the economic level of the families from which the ministry is recruited is falling, and so their ability to provide the conditions of effective study are correspondingly diminished, it is seen that the task which is laid upon those who are responsible for ministerial education is one of exceptional difficulty.

What makes the situation still more serious is the fact that the seminaries have as yet created no agency able to deal comprehensively with problems of such magnitude. It is not that individual institutions are not maintaining high standards of professional education. On the contrary, there are a number of ministerial training schools whose standards, judged by any available test, are just as high as the corresponding professional schools of law and medicine. It is not that those who are responsible for the leadership of the different schools hold aloof from one another. The existence of the Conference of Theological Seminaries, which for nearly twenty years has brought together representatives of more than sixty of our leading seminaries for biennial conference, is the best proof that this is not the case. The fact remains that up to the present time there has existed no association of theological seminaries comparable in dignity and importance to the corresponding associations of American colleges and universities. As a result, there has been no concerted attempt to deal collectively with the difficult prob-

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lems whose existence has, to be sure, been long known, but of whose number and complexity the present study has only recently given us exact information.

It is all the more heartening that now that the facts are known, plans to deal with them are under contemplation. The two years since the completion of the study have seen repeated conferences of representatives of the leading seminaries, and at the forthcoming meeting of the Conference of Theological Seminaries, to be held at Crozer in June of 1936, the proposal will be submitted for the creation of an effective Association of Theological Seminaries, with a standing Committee on Accrediting Institutions and other committees to deal with matters of common interest, such as a standardized preseminary course, uniform standards of admission and dismissal, the nature and test of clinical training, scholarship aid, and other similar problems.

It is not the purpose of this article to anticipate any action which the Conference may take, but rather to call attention to some problems which have emerged in the course of the study and are of general educational interest.

One of these has to do with the place of specialization in professional education. Two differing tendencies have appeared in the course of the study: on the one hand, a growing demand for more definite practical training, designed to fit men for the special tasks to which they must look forward in their ministry; on the other hand, a protest against the breaking up of the curriculum into a number of highly specialized courses, each designed to introduce the student to a field of study which the conditions under which he is living make impossible for him to prosecute with any large promise of success.

An example of the kind of demand which is being made upon the seminaries is furnished by the suggestive article by Mr. Fey, in the Spring 1935 number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, entitled "The Religious Crisis in Rural America." In this article the author calls attention to the very serious crisis which the church is facing as a result of the economic changes taking

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place in rural America. He points out the need of enlightened leadership in order to recover for the American farmer a position of independence comparable to that which the farmer now enjoys in Denmark. Without this leadership, he warns, the sources of supply on which the rural church has hitherto relied will be progressively drained, and the rural church will be left a melancholy monument to a greatness that has departed.

Here, Mr. Fey concludes, is a task for the seminaries. Let them include in their curriculum, provision for training ministers in the conditions of rural economic life, so that they can supply to their parishioners the kind of leadership which, a generation ago, facing a crisis no less serious, the Danish Grundtvig supplied in so notable a manner.

This is but the most conspicuous example of a demand coming to the seminaries from all sides. Courses in social ethics are needed, we are told, to furnish the minister with the type of training now enjoyed by case workers in our schools of philanthropy and social service. Clinical training should be provided in hospitals and public institutions, not forgetting the needed smattering of psychoanalysis. Courses are needed in sacred music and in architecture. For the prospective missionaries training in comparative religion is needed. And so the list lengthens, while from the more technical side similar demands are made for opportunities to specialize in the historical and philosophical field.

It is clear that in this matter of specialization two quite distinct interests must be distinguished: the interest of the specialist in research, whose primary concern it is to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, and who is in search of recruits whom he can enlist as candidates for prospective professorships; and the interest of the practical man, who wants men who can turn their hands to the immediate task and who will be more effective if they know what it is and have had contact with men who know how to deal with it.

So far as the first of these interests is concerned, it is clear that while specialization may have its place in the ordinary pro-

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fessional school, that place is secondary, not primary. The work of training specialists belongs at the end of the normal professional course, not at the beginning. It should be carried on in graduate schools, which fit men for candidacy for the higher degrees. The most that can be done for the ordinary student is to give him an example of the kind of work the specialist does, so that if he feels a call in that direction he may begin his preparation as early as possible, and with the least waste of energy. When a special interest exists, opportunity should be given to cultivate it; but it should be through concentration on a single subject, not through scattering over many conflicting interests. On this point there is growing agreement among theological teachers, and in this they find themselves at one with their colleagues in the fields of law and of medicine.

For the other demand there is much to be said on the face of it. Recent educational theory emphasizes the importance of a functional approach to academic problems, and the large place given to clinical training in our theological schools is a further recognition of the importance of this approach. There are, however, two difficulties which stand in the way of any attempt to give what one may call vocational, as distinct from strictly professional, training in the professional school. One is that the attempt at too early specialization may divert the prospective student from the basic problems which are common to all branches of the profession, and so lead him to be content with a superficial training which will not stand the test of the years. The other, the more serious, difficulty is that no one can tell in advance what particular type of work the prospective student will actually be called upon to do, and so the practical training given for that purpose may prove simply so much time taken from the more general studies that would be of more use to him all around.

This does not mean that the seminaries have no responsibility for dealing with the problem raised by Mr. Fey—only that their way of dealing with it must be of a different kind. It is part of a larger problem which all professional schools face,

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namely that of the extent to which they are responsible not simply for training men for useful service under the conditions which now obtain, but of changing these conditions so that more effective service may become possible.

Clearly this is a task too large and too difficult to be discharged by any single institution, or even by any number of institutions working in isolation. It requires a cooperative approach, in which research workers and persons with practical experience assist one another in doing the work for which each is most fitted.

No fact stands out more clearly in the study than the lack of provision for research made in our seminaries. Individual professors, to be sure, are doing excellent work in their respective fields, and the output of good books by the faculties of the best seminaries need fear no comparison with similar work from the professors of other professional schools. But what is being done is largely in the historical and linguistic field. There is little first-hand study of the social conditions which the minister must face in his parish work, or of the new tasks and responsibilities which the changing economic and political environment lays upon the church as a whole.

Here is a field far too extensive to be cultivated by individuals working in isolation. A cooperative approach is needed. Where should we look for such an approach if not from the teachers of Christian ethics in our seminaries?

Only when this has been done, and the conditions with which the churches are faced in all the aspects of their many-sided activity are clearly visualized, shall we be in a position to meet the need so forcefully brought to our notice by Mr. Fey. How this can best be done it would be premature to inquire. Perhaps by concentrating the specialists in rural conditions in a few institutions, strategically located; perhaps by effecting an alliance between the seminaries and the existing agricultural colleges, for the purpose of providing clinical facilities for prospective ministers; perhaps by setting apart a group of peripatetic teachers who, through institutes or summer conferences,

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can carry expert knowledge to ministers in the field; perhaps by all combined. What is necessary is that there should be a comprehensive plan, based upon exact knowledge; and for this cooperation is essential.

Reference to the minister in the field suggests another phase of the educational task to which the study has called attention, and that is the need of more adequate provision for continued study by ministers who are already in service. When everything has been done that can be done to improve the training of the present generation of theological students, the fact will still remain that very many of our existing ministers are not only ill-trained, but lack the facilities for overcoming that handicap even if they desired. Something is being done to meet this need by summer courses given by individual seminaries, but these courses reach only a small proportion of ministers, and those the most alert mentally. Those who need the training most are the very ones who are not being reached.

No need is being more keenly felt by those responsible for ministerial education than their duty to contribute to this wider task. But what can be done by our existing faculties is limited. Here most of all cooperation is needed, cooperation not only between the different seminaries, but between the seminaries and the colleges, and above all the churches. Some denominations already feel their responsibility in this direction, notably the Methodists. They have worked out, in theory at least, a comprehensive plan for continuing ministerial education. But performance lags behind ideal, and there are wide reaches where nothing is being attempted. Here is a field which will lay heavy responsibility upon whatever Association of Seminaries may prove the outcome of the study, and all those who appreciate the place which the church holds in the life of the nation will wish them success in their responsible task.

So far I have spoken chiefly of problems which concern those who are responsible for the education of the ministers. But there is a wider aspect of the study which is of concern to all teachers, and notably to those who are responsible for the

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educational policy of our colleges and universities. No one can have followed the development of higher education in America without becoming aware of a movement toward secularism which, while not peculiar to America, has been carried further here than in any other country. Whereas two generations ago college education was still very largely religiously motivated, and the student reminded not only through compulsory college chapel attendance but by the character of the instruction in philosophy, history, and literature, that religion was the central interest of man, and that this country, by tradition and history, even if not by formal profession, was a Christian country; that is no longer true today.

Many factors have contributed to bring about the change. The rise of tax-supported state universities has been one factor. The desire of denominational colleges to secure academic recognition by the great foundations has been another. The broadening of the constituency of our Eastern colleges to include students whose personal background was neutral religiously is still another. But more potent than all these has been the feeling, on the part of those responsible for the educational policy, that the differences between Christians made religion too dangerous a subject to be treated academically, and therefore the safest thing to do was to touch it as lightly as possible. So we have the anomaly of colleges and universities in a country which has been formed under a Christian tradition, turning out men and women who are as ignorant of that tradition as if they had been born in India or in the islands of the sea.

The existence of a strong Association of Theological Seminaries, able to speak with knowledge on the subjects which are of common concern, will afford a welcome point of contact with our existing institutions of higher learning. Is it too much to hope that through the cooperation thus established, a way may be found to restore to religion its proper place among the subjects of college and university instruction?

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This So-Called Revolt Against Reason

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

WE have been hearing much of late about the unreason and illogicality of prevailing social movements, especially those across the seas. It is often charged that they are the natural consequence of the debauching of the public mind by the fashionable theories and philosophies which hold reason and logic in contempt. Morris Cohen, that stalwart champion of Reason in all things, has framed the charge in words worth quoting. He says in *Reason and Nature:*

> Despite the frequent assertion that ours is the age of science, we are witnessing today a remarkably widespread decline of the prestige of intellect and reason. Though the most successful of our modern sciences, the various branches of mathematics, physics, and experimental biology, have admittedly been built up by intellectual or rational methods, "intellectualistic" and "rationalistic" are popular terms of opprobrium. Even among professed philosophers, the high priests of the sanctuary of reason, faith in rational or demonstrative science is systematically being minimized in the interests of "practical" idealism, vitalism, humanism, intuitionism, and other forms of avowed anti-intellectualism. . . .
>
> It would preposterously exaggerate the actual influence of philosophy if the outrageously shameless contempt for truth shown in the various forms of recent propaganda were attributed to the systematic scorn heaped by modernistic philosophies on the old ideal of the pursuit of truth for its own sake "in scorn of consequences." Yet this decline of respect for truth in public or national affairs is certainly not devoid of all significant connection with its decline in philosophy and art. Is it far-fetched to correlate the distrust of intellectual procedure (and consequent revival of all sorts of ancient superstitions) with the growing bigotry, intolerance, and remarkable resurgence of faith in violence? Avowed faith in violence has seldom before raised its head so high among educated men, or led them to such contempt for free parlia-

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mentary discussion, and to such readiness to suppress contrary opinion by arbitrary force and dictatorial power. From Moscow to the Mediterranean there reigns a pathetic faith in salvation through brutality.

We certainly do not need to look very far nowadays to find plenty of contempt for truth, plenty of intolerance and brutality. And it is also notorious that many of our most popular philosophies have a rather low regard for sheer reason and logic. Unfortunately, however, for those who lump these manifestations of the modern spirit together, and blame the contempt and brutality on the philosophies, they are not always shared by the same group of men. Indeed, when you really try to pin down this revolt against reason in social action, and connect it definitely with an anti-intellectualistic philosophy, it turns out to be a very elusive thing, and the connection seems rather tenuous.

On the face of it, for example, nothing could sound more irrational—certainly to the great majority of Americans nothing appears more revolting—than the ideas of our Communist friends. To insist that those who are running things now are so impervious to argument, indeed, to the most elementary considerations of rational self-interest, that nothing on earth can convince them a better organization of our technological resources is possible than the one whose fruits we are now enjoying—that they are so immune to logic there is nothing to do but knock them out of the driver's seat by main force—seems to credit human nature with very little rationality. Yet it requires small acquaintance with actual Communists to realize that here are men so utterly imbued with devotion to a pure idea that they have no room left for any personal motive or emotion. Here is pure rationalism in action, a rationalism so pure that it frightens men of common clay. And it doesn't take much knowledge of the closely-knit Communist system of ideas to recognize that here is the most imposing rationalistic philosophy of our times. Here is the outstanding representative in our generation of the great tradition of rationalism, of the complete trust in reason to determine what is rationally best, in

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utter despite of the frailties of human nature and the complexities of brute fact.

Or take what by most unbelievers is generally considered to be the most irrational of the superstitions coming down to us from the past, the great Catholic faith. Slight examination is enough to convince us that the Church has founded itself upon the rock of rationalism; her intellectual life is dominated by the impressive philosophy of St. Thomas, a philosophy which grants a greater competence to human reason than all our science and all our scientific philosophies put together dare claim.

Indeed, to find any creed confessedly irrational we must turn to our rather blundering New Deal, which is like an unskilful quarterback outwitting the interference of logical contradictions, willing to try any play once till it is thrown for a loss by the sheer unadulterated logic of the Supreme Court. Or we must go to our scientific and modern religion, so muddled and confused it seeks its surest foundation in the appeal to mysticism, that denial of all argument and proof; or, in the latest fashion, to an Unconditioned certainty not dreamed of in rational philosophies. Or we must take refuge in our science itself, founded, so we are told, on purely arbitrary conventions and composed of sheer postulate systems striving vainly to catch up with the march of brute and irrational fact.

The truth of the matter is that those who talk about this so-called revolt against reason really have in mind two rather different things. In the first place they mean our theories of human nature and human behavior, of intellectual method and social practice, which sound irrational enough, God knows. We have certainly come a long way since the time when we used to define man as a "rational animal" and judge our conduct by its accord with the "law of reason." We have come so far that when a Catholic condemns birth control as "contrary to reason" the very expression strikes us as curiously remote. But by the revolt against reason is meant also something rather different from these theories of ours. The phrase expresses an opinion about our actual goings on, which as we look about us

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really do not seem to be exactly the kind of things we were taught at our mother's knee we ought to be doing.

Now it is not at all hard to get excited about the surprising way in which other men and other nations are behaving nowadays. It is very easy to agree they ought to be doing something else, it would be far better if they were, and we've simply got to do something about it. But is there really any cause to get excited just because this surprising behavior strikes us as irrational? That men, especially groups of men, rarely act in ways a thoughtful observer would call completely rational is at this late date scarcely news. For that matter, who ever thought they did? Certainly not those who have most vigorously preached that men ought to follow reason. Not the Church, which has always maintained that though men ought to, and though they would like to if they could, nevertheless without divine aid they are quite unable to. Not the eighteenth-century rationalists, surely, who launched a vigorous crusade against the infamous mass of irrationalities to which they found men actually bound and from which release could be gained only through a thoroughgoing revolution in education and social institutions. We are too apt to forget that though we used to define man as potentially rational, we also remembered that he is actually animal. Whatever our theories, human nature has always seemed to the enlightened a rather curious mixture of rationality and animality. Man is a being inordinately concerned to think up good rational reasons to justify his irrational animal behavior; he then finds his own reasoning so convincing that he manages to act more rationally than he would if he didn't think at all.

No, our actual goings on today, unexpected as many of them are, are probably no more and certainly no less "irrational" than human actions have ever been. To be sure there is a certain rationality in recognizing our own irrationality: at least we hope that if we can only understand its roots and causes we may manage to do something about it. As a matter of fact it is not so much a greater degree of irrationality that characterizes these

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goings on of ours as it is an unfamiliar kind. They are simply different from the irrational behavior to which we have grown so accustomed that it seems to us the essence of reasonableness. What we really mean, one strongly suspects, when we say that today the world seems to have lost its reason is just what we mean when we say, "Now for heaven's sake be reasonable: listen to me and take my advice."

There is no denying that men are now acting in a way quite different from that with which we used to be familiar. There is surely much in social life today not at all like those calm debates in which the Victorian governing class decided the destiny of the British nation and the peoples of Asia and Africa. Things are going on in Central and Eastern Europe that bear little resemblance to that "great game of politics" by which we like to think the American future is determined. But after all we have just spent a generation in successful revolt, in the name of science and humanity and reason, against the superstition, the blind conventionality, the stupidity and irrationality of the way of life of those same Victorians. And their "rational" debates have left us a heritage of problems of economic organization and imperialistic rivalry whose solution defies reason. Nor is it so certain that Mussolini is more "irrational" than our own New Deal; at least he seems to know what he wants and to be in a fair way of getting it. Even Hitler, whom no American in his less rational moments can refrain from calling many hard names—is he really more "irrational" in his methods than, say, Bismarck with his blood and iron? Bismarck at least tempered merciless logic with what he called the imponderables. And what is surely to every American the very spearhead of the revolt against reason, the present German notions of race—are they really so much more irrational than our own ideas about Negroes and Japanese, so familiar as to seem to most of us almost reasonable? This is a hard question for Americans—and one which the Germans will not let them ignore.

The fact is that confronted by new problems men are driven to new, unfamiliar, and therefore doubly "irrational" attempts

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to solve them. There is great temptation to say that men can afford to act "rationally" only so long as they don't have to think about what to do; or rather, only when men don't have to think up some novel way of acting does the familiar way appear rational.

In all their present misbehavings men are really not trying to revolt against reason; they are actually trying to be as rational as possible. The sad results point not to any conscious "revolt" but to the inadequacy of the "reason" men are seeking to employ. It is a reason that cannot of itself furnish motives strong enough to organize men in cooperative effort. Since in times of social crisis like ours the cardinal need is for just such an organization of human action, men perforce fall back on some unifying faith which has the power to bind them together and to supply the premises from which reason can operate. To accomplish their organizing function such social faiths today do not usually rely upon the familiar and "rational" methods of free discussion, debate, and deliberation. Naturally enough they turn rather to our most modern techniques of "mobilizing public opinion," techniques which because we have not yet grown used to them still seem more "irrational" than the rhetoric of the orator or the knavery of the party boss. Through devices which reason has found to be highly effective they gain support for policies which are themselves a rational elaboration of an intensely and emotionally held faith.

In the old days this necessary popular support for social policies came largely from the stability of custom and tradition. Men favored, because they had always done so, general policies whose particular applications could be indicated by reasoned deliberation just because they were familiar except in detail. A clear illustration is the traditional American faith in the principles of the Constitution, as it used to operate without question. Of late these principles have been sufficiently challenged to demand the mobilization of our new techniques in their defense. Now to secure social cohesion through such a

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traditional faith is of course just as "irrational" as to secure it through some new organizing faith. But being familiar it does not seem irrational.

It is obvious that the new social organization which every industrial country must in some form achieve today cannot rest on mere custom and traditional loyalty. There must be a new unifying faith, which just because it is unfamiliar has to be propagated and sustained by all those methods of controlling public opinion which rational inquiry has of late years discovered. To take a cardinal instance, there is wide agreement that the German economic dictator, Dr. Schacht, has been extraordinarily successful in organizing German economic life within its present restricted limits and getting it to do what he wants. He has succeeded because of the Nazi faith and the Nazi system of propaganda and enforcement. Now when one is simply compelled to organize human activities in time of crisis is it really more "irrational" to rely on effective and up-to-date techniques rather than on a traditional loyalty which can only very slowly be brought to support a novel policy?

Of course, to utilize such a new faith and the attendant methods it involves brings its own inevitable consequences. It debauches the minds of those who are organized and it creates a master for those doing the organizing. The organizers become themselves the slaves of the irrational forces they are employing. Dr. Schacht finds anti-Semitism seriously interfering with the very economic organization it was originally used to effect. And Mussolini is at last swept along by the very appeal to military glory and war fever he has so often played upon. The whole method is rational enough; granting its premises it is beautifully logical. The best laid schemes of mice and men are rational through and through. But are they wise? are they intelligent? That is another question.

Or take our own New Deal. There is probably more concentrated reason in the great group of social scientists gathered in Washington in the various departments and agencies of the government than has ever been mobilized at one time before.

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But how are the policies there worked out with such exquisite reason and logic to secure the wide popular support essential to putting them into effect? The administration has relied upon fireside talks, a method familiar enough to pass as "rational." It has also relied on Mr. Farley. Now as a means of enlisting popular backing for necessary policies the activities of Mr. Farley and all he stands for are surely infinitely preferable to castor oil, bayonets, and concentration camps. In the light of the alternatives adopted by Europeans, any realistic mind would rejoice that we have a consummate politician as president, and would thank God we have Jim Farley rather than storm troops.

But is this familiar American method really any more "rational"? The method of politics is the method of compromise between conflicting economic groups in the interest of establishing a working balance of effective forces. But notoriously some present forces are so effective they can completely counterbalance the reason they have been enlisted to support. No one who has seen Brown Shirts in action can fail to have a great appreciation for the relative virtues of politicians. They may incidentally rob us, but at least they don't shoot. Until men have reached some agreement on the kind of economic organization they want, political compromise between conflicting groups does seem to be the only alternative to sheer force, physical and psychological, and to an irrational faith that will justify its employment. But it is very hard for reason to be patient. And one cannot suppress the suspicion that if only our expert administrators were not quite so rational and logical, and were a little more intelligent, there would be no need for so much paralyzing compromise.

Our actual goings-on under the proddings of the problems so insistently confronting us today could hardly fail to appear "irrational." This fact we must recognize if we hope to reach any understanding of the many current theories that explicitly criticise reason. The irrationalities men have been forced into in spite of themselves point squarely to the shortcomings of "reason" as a method for dealing with our difficulties. These

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anti-intellectualistic theories of ours are the direct heritage of the great Romantic Movement of a century ago. That movement was itself, on the side of its ideas, a protest against the inadequacies of the intellectual method the eighteenth century knew as "reason." It was the expression of a great process of social reorganization, very much like the one we now find ourselves in: the passage from a feudal to a commercial society, the assumption of power by the middle class. Like the process we can observe about us, it was a complex mixture of sheer reaction and much needed reorganization. In that earlier movement "reason" operated as an effective instrument of criticism; just as it does today, when in terms of our accepted premises it can easily tell us what is wrong with fascism, communism, and our capitalistic democracy. But reason then as now proved to be a woefully weak instrument for reconstruction and for enlisting the cooperative effort and support of men.

When an intellectual method reveals itself to be inadequate two general remedies are possible. The first is to supplement it with another method; this usually means pushing the first one into the background and perhaps discarding it altogether. The other is carefully to reconstruct and extend the method whose limitations have been found out. The first course is the easier and the more popular. When adopted a century ago, and again in our time, it is what is usually meant by the "revolt against reason." It is the course exploited in the anti-intellectualistic philosophies of Bergson, Croce, Nietzsche, Spengler, and their allies and disciples. It is the appeal from a limited "reason" to tradition, to intuition, to a new faith, to the will to believe. All these substitutes for reason were proclaimed a century ago; they were all kept alive during the nineteenth century, and they have all become fashionable again in our generation. These philosophies of revolt against reason all set out with a keen criticism of the inadequacies of reason in its traditional sense; they then proceed to offer a wholly uncriticized substitute without direction or goal, which is naturally seized upon, guided, and controlled by the strongest social force that wants to appropriate it.

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The second course, to reconstruct reason radically, is much harder. It is less popular and at first weaker. But it knows where it is going and slowly but surely it brings solid results.

That intellectual method which the eighteenth century knew as "reason"—the classic tradition of reason, in fact, coming down from the Greeks—the "reason" which our contemporary anti-intellectualists have criticised, is really quite simple. It is the method of demonstrative science, of mathematics and mechanics. It embraces two parts, analysis and deduction: first, in order to arrive at certain axioms or principles, one analyzes the subject-matter one is trying to understand, and then one proceeds to deduce further conclusions from those principles. The classic illustration in natural science is Newton's *Principia;* in social science, the works of the great liberal economists, like Ricardo.

The criticisms directed against this method of "reason" are cogent. First, it is inevitably highly selective. It leaves out the facts it does not choose for analysis. It results, therefore, in a tight, narrow little system; it has no urge to seek further facts, to continue the inquiry. The greater part of human experience and human values naturally eludes its scope. A beautiful illustration is the "economic man" of nineteenth-century political economy. Secondly, it results in a rigid and static system, a system of timeless propositions like the geometry from which the method was generalized. Such a system is inflexible in the face of new problems and new facts; it is completed in its main outlines once and for all. In the face of novel problems it fits the little it is able to grasp of them into its preexistent system. A familiar example is the scheme of constitutional interpretation favored by the majority of the Supreme Court. Thirdly, the whole validity of the method and its results depends upon the truth of the initial axioms. They must be accepted as self-evident—that is, on the basis of intuition, or, in practice and in social matters, as part of a widely-held social faith. That is why this method of reason always demands a faith to give its axioms validity; that is why "reason" and faith are necessarily

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correlative, each needing the other as a supplement. Catholic rationalism is grounded in divine revelation; communism is rooted in the revelation of Marx and Engels; our constitution worship depends upon the divine wisdom of the Fathers. Based on faith as they are, these axioms are inflexible: no modification is possible in the light of experience. Experience can only illustrate such axioms, it can never disprove them, for it is not the basis of their validity.

Applied to the analysis of human nature this method of "reason" arrived at rational self-interest as the sole human motive. It produced that curious figure of nineteenth-century social theory, the man who never acts save on his lawyer's advice, to secure a profit of pleasure over pain. When more recent psychologies failed to discover such a figure his nonexistence cast doubt on the presence of any rational factor in human nature. This analysis also conceived "reason" to be something ready-made and complete in every man: it was just there, just so much of it, with no possibility of adding more. And when such a reason could not be found there at all it seemed to follow that man could never hope to act rationally. This conception of a ready-made reason is still with us in the notion of a fixed I. Q. for every person, an individual possession bestowed once and for all.

This is the "reason" that has proved inadequate as an intellectual method, in our philosophies as in those of a century ago. Its critics brought it to the test of human life and human experience and found it wanting. One party supplemented it with an enlarging and enveloping social experience to whose ultimate wisdom they appealed; this social experience could supply the cohesive force "reason" lacked and the principles on which it had to depend. It is the living institutions of society which bind men together, organize their activities, and furnish the self-evidence of the axioms their thinking elaborates. The social group supplies the organizing faith needed; it is the real embodiment of a super-individual reason. Man lives and thinks only by its grace. The social group and its group faith are set

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up over against the inadequate private reason of the individual: they absorb that reason and make of it a mere organ. Here is the intellectual justification of nationalism, the strongest social force we have inherited from the Romantic movement. Today such ideas have flowered in the theory of the totalitarian state or of the totalitarian class of the Marxists, which so far as the individual is concerned functions in the same fashion. From that state or that class is derived the only valid ideology, the only test of value.

Another group of critics, equally convinced of the inadequacy of "reason," undertook the harder task of reconstructing an intellectual method in the context of experience. It is this second group who in the nineteenth century elaborated and refined what we now know as "scientific method" and often refer to, somewhat inadequately, as the method of "experimental science." Scientific method, in its present stage of development, embraces as much of "reasoning," of analysis and deduction, as ever did traditional "reason." But it takes as its starting-point hypotheses, not self-evident axioms: hypotheses to be verified by the consequences to which they lead, not axioms necessarily rooted in faith. Its principles are tentative and provisional, to be reconstructed in the light of new discoveries of fact; it is a method for building a growing and expanding body of ideas. And it is from the start a social, not a private possession: its principles, procedures, techniques, tests, and validated conclusions are the property of no single nation, race, or class; they belong to mankind.

If, then, convinced of the inadequacies of "reason," we fall back upon another non-rational method and absorb reason into that method or discard it entirely we are turning from reason to faith, however rationally we may elaborate that faith. The natural outcome is our present-day welter of irrational social faiths with all that they entail. But if we reconstruct and improve "reason" we are advancing from reason to our scientific method, to intelligence. This method of intelligence has all the rationality, all the critical power, of "reason" itself. It has in

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addition a flexibility, an adaptability to the novel aspects of new problems, an inventive and constructive power, and a technique of verification without that ultimate reliance upon faith inherent in "reason." It has besides an ability to deal with values that reason lacked, to judge and harmonize them in the light of their consequences; reason could only elaborate the values it accepted on faith. Nor is intelligence a personal distinction, fixed once and for all in the individual; it is a social function, developing as mankind gains the knowledge of how to do things. This intelligence is not the individual "intelligence" measured in intelligence tests; rather is it the effective intelligence of our civilization. It is the intelligence increased by every scientific discovery or invention. It is the intelligence that distinguishes any modern physician, however mediocre personally, from any doctor of a century ago, however able as an individual. It is the intelligence that is a function of the state of human knowledge. It is an intelligence that needs no foundation in an irrational social faith, because it is already by its very nature a social possession.

If we now put the disquieting question raised by our modern psychologies—is human nature a mere welter of blind impulses?—we can hope for an answer. If we ask, are human actions controlled by "reason" or not? we must answer, they are not. Only very rarely do men act by sheer rational deliberation. But if we ask, can human actions be intelligently guided? we may answer, they can become more intelligent as mankind gains knowledge, as men become aware of the consequences of their acts and act increasingly in the light of those consequences. Americans are much more intelligent about war today than they were in 1914. Then they acted in ignorance of what their acts would lead to; now they know the consequences of what they then did. Their thinking is not yet controlled by reason and they will still make mistakes, but not just the same mistakes. For intelligence is rooted in knowledge, whereas reason is grounded in a faith to which increased knowledge is irrelevant.

For intelligence, the organization of industrial society, that

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pressing need which is the major cause of all our present human antics, is primarily the working out of a solution, not the battle for a faith. The task before Americans is to solve a problem, not to fight the good fight. Even should it become necessary to fight for the opportunity to solve problems intelligently—and that is all that fighting could possibly gain—there is still no reason why men must be ignorant to be good fighters or why they cannot fight for the best validated hypothesis without mistaking it for the will of God or the dialectic of history. Intelligent men have been as good fighters as any others, when compelled to. But for the intelligent, fighting is carried on for the sake of enabling intelligence to function, not for the sake of establishing a faith.

This so-called revolt against reason can therefore mean two things. If it means a turning away from reason to something less than reason it will inevitably lead to a dogmatic, intolerant, and fanatical faith, bearing the bitter fruits of sheer force and brutality. But if it means an advance to something more than reason, to scientific method and intelligence, it will mean the grasping of the most powerful instrument the wit of man has yet devised for solving his problems and controlling and bettering the conditions of his life. Reason is inadequate; its critics have been right. The choice before us is, shall we turn aside therefore to an irrational faith, or shall we advance to intelligence?

Sizing Our Ballads

LOUISE POUND

POPULAR interest in folk-song has undergone considerable transformation in the last hundred years. It has seen changes in the types of songs collected, in the personnel of the collectors, in their ways of obtaining songs, and in the

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attitude of the learned world toward such songs. The great Scottish collectors of the nineteenth century, men like Sir Walter Scott and his contemporaries, canvassed available sources for the best pieces they could find. Songs that had no element of beauty or appeal were neglected as not worthy of attention. And there was specialization mainly in story-pieces or ballads, for these have most human interest and are likely to preserve an archaic lyrical quality. They have a narrative element to hold them together and they come down in tradition in more recognizable form or with better integrity. It was concerning this type that many arm-chair theorists, having little first-hand experience in collecting folk-song, evolved their romantic theory that ballads had their origin, by a sort of spontaneous combustion, in the festal dances of unlettered peasants. Such theorists (of whom but few now remain) may well be called "ballad fundamentalists."

In the twentieth century, Old-World pieces entering America by immigration still hold the foreground of interest, for theirs is a longer history and a more appealing poetic style. The liking of early collectors for them is easily understood. The most important and scholarly compendium of English and Scottish traditional ballads is still that of Professor F. J. Child of Harvard, made near the end of the last century, who devoted years to his assemblage of lyrical narratives or ballads, and only these. But the present-day lover of folk-song is vigilant concerning other pieces as well. He collects songs good and bad, and indigenous as well as imported pieces. Traditional songs that show no traces of high lyrical quality now claim attention. Many miscellaneous conglomerate collections are made that admit not only orally recovered ballad texts but broadsides and popular songs of all types. Folk-song has now become, as it should be, a pretty comprehensive term.

Another step characteristic of the twentieth century is the making of specialized anthologies, like American lumberjack or logger songs, cowboy songs, songs of hoboes, miners, soldiers, sailors, and Negro spirituals, work-songs, blues, and the like.

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Very characteristic too is the appearance at the present time of regional collections that assemble ballads or miscellaneous pieces from one or another section of the country—Maine or the Virginias for example, or, more recently, Mississippi, Vermont, the Ozarks, Newfoundland. The geography of these collections is artificial, of course. The State boundary is an artificial one, without significance in itself; but collection by states is practical and it has brought valuable returns.

Still another characteristic of our contemporary gathering and study of folk-song is the appearance of anthologies of and research into the history of individual songs. Illustrative are H. M. Belden's study of "The Bramble Briar," or of the ballads of the Meeks murder in Missouri, or L. W. Payne's remarkably interesting and exhaustive investigation of the nursery song of "The Frog and the Mouse." Other examples are Mrs. Eckstorm's and Miss Smyth's study of "The Jam at Gerry's Rock" and L. W. Chappell's successful pursuit of the Negro Kwasind, "John Henry," the strong man. As more and more anthologies make additional texts available, more and more special studies of individual pieces may be expected to appear. The amassing of new material as time passes will help to throw light on many problems of geographical migration and the distribution of individual pieces and of text improvement and text decay. Such material will have sociological and historical interest as well as interest for lovers of old songs. We lack now perhaps literary anthologies of traditional songs, anthologies of the best texts of the best songs that have found permanent place in the popular memory; but these may follow when the possibilities of regional collection and sound examination of the results have been carried through. It may be of course that the making of anthologies having artistic value, with literary quality and taste the basis of their selection, will be the next stage for lovers of folk-song. Such enthusiasts are now pretty exclusively occupied with the recovery of authentic texts and their *verbatim* reproduction. No matter what its crudities, the genuine text now has precedence over the edited

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or improved one. On the other hand, it is possible too that our present-day interest in folk-song may lessen in coming decades and our urge to search out and reproduce traditional texts of all types may weaken or die away.

In a discussion of American folk-song something should surely be said of the term "folk." It is sometimes remarked by Europeans that Americans have an obsession for definitions and classifications. Certainly definite, not loose, usage of terms should be encouraged, and I know of no field in which terms have been more loosely used than in folk-lore, especially the terms "folk," "folk-lore," "ballad," and "tradition." For ballad, the usual present-day definitions are now acceptable, since the old definitions by origin have been given up by all but a few. Since we do not know the origin of most of our traditional pieces, an insistence on a single type of origin for the bulk of them would bar nearly all Professor Child's pieces from his five-volume collection, and the mass of their pieces from other collections of folk-songs. Sometimes I feel like making the attempt to improve most of the definitions of folk, folk-lore, folk-song, and tradition that appear in text-books and some dictionaries; for the majority of them, even before they abandoned "peasant origin" as a fundamental conception in defining ballads, still retain it for folk-lore and folk-song. It is surprising to find so excellent a scholar as Dr. A. H. Krappe, in his recent *Science of Folk-Lore* (since he distinctly gives up peasant for literary origins), still defining folk-songs as lyric poems "which originated anonymously among unlettered folk in times past and remained in currency for a considerable time, as a rule for centuries." If, as suggested above, we restricted our volumes of folk-songs to those songs that we know originated anonymously among the lowly we could have little or nothing in them. Our best pieces would have to be excluded.

In particular I wish to speak of our loose use of the word folk, especially when referring to folk-origins. Surely dictionary makers and theorists should know by this time that there

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is no mysterious national "folk," the "multitude," "the masses," the "common people" of the old folk-lorists. Professor J. Frank Dobie of the University of Texas once made an excellent distinction when he pointed out that all oral tradition —what we call folk-lore—is necessarily regional, in that there is never one folk from the point of view of folk-lore, but instead many folk-groups—as many as there are regional cultures or racial or occupational groups within a region. That is, groups of people homogeneous and not of mixed race, have a body of tradition peculiar to themselves, German, Swedish, Bohemian, Negro, Indian. And there are also folk-groups by classes or occupations: miners, hoboes, loggers, sailors, etc. Cosmopolitan folk-groups have no folk-lore. They have individual lore but not lore belonging to the whole group until the group has become homogeneous. My personal definition of folk-lore is, then, that it is lore traditional among homogeneous groups, with no limitations on the basis of origins. Such traditional lore may include ballads, superstitions, magic, rituals, legends, tales, songs, institutions, rites. But since we are ignorant of the origin of most of these when they appear in tradition, peasant origin should not be assumed as a test of their genuineness.

Most scholars and lexicographers are surely aware of this. Yet there is still much insistence on the older view, which ought by this time to have been discarded, the view that traditional lore must have had its start among the unlettered and that this start was oral, not from manuscript or print. Folk-lore starts in many ways and it should not be defined by hypothetical beginnings; we simply do not know the origin of most of it. The only safe test for folk-songs is that they have no fixed text-form but are continually changing, that they have retained vitality through a fair period of time, and that all sense of their authorship and origin has been lost by their singers.

It should be reiterated that those who are interested in the gathering of traditional songs (who collect old songs partly for their own sake and partly for what they show concerning the ways of folk-singers with their material) will do well to collect

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now. Only collection and comparison of texts makes clear what are local adaptations, such as substitutions of names or their transformation, and the omissions and insertions of individual singers. We learn that it is not always the fortunate changes that persist but sometimes the contrary. Human ways in any field have interest. The observation of the ways of folk-song has especial interest now, for the outlook for songs of the traditional type in the coming period does not seem very promising.

Ballad singing in America was once a dignified means of entertaining a company. There was singing at social gatherings, in parlors, in the games and dances of young persons, as well as in the chimney nooks of farm-houses or by the stove in the cross-roads store, in the cabin, or cornfield, or by the creek. How much less there is of it now, and how much less there will be as time goes on! Phonographs and the radio have penetrated remote places and they have cheapened as well as multiplied the output of song. Music is now turned on rather than sung by groups or individuals. And the very multiplicity of new songs—composed for shows or as songs for sound films, or for radio singers and crooners—lowers the quality of those that are produced and impedes their chances of survival. One song has hardly achieved a degree of circulation before others crowd it out. There is little that is memorable in the texts. Will anyone in the future wish to recover our popular song hits of today and their airs? Perhaps. But I feel no certainty of it. Folk-song societies of the future may invent other enthusiasms. Or they may die out, as such societies often do; for our present mechanical devices have lessened the oral handing on of texts. Those who love the old songs may have to pore over mechanical records in warehouses, instead of striving to take down their intriguing material from the lips of singers.

There will always be interest in ballads but the time may come when it will again be literary interest, not the interest of lore. In these days, when ballad collection is an established branch of academic study, interest focuses on the traditional

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phases of collection and scrutiny. Further, it is the traditional songs of the less lettered that have the emphasis, although educated persons too have their folk-lore and better texts may be expected from them than from the unlettered. We have devoted ourselves to recapturing all that we can from classes lower in the social scale, from servants, from laborers of many types, from aged dwellers on remote farms; probably for the reason that more songs, especially more archaic songs, can be recovered from them. We have trailed the "folk" indefatigably and have tried to watch and record their folk-ways, to discover uncontaminated folk-literature on folk-lips. We have carried this to the point where we care little for a popular lyric in itself. A fragmentary or a mutilated version so recovered seems more worth while than a complete or coherent or lively version, especially if the latter come from print or from the pen of a better balladist remodeling a primitive version. We have become less interested in the ballad as a literary species than as a species of folk-lore.

To Bishop Percy, that eighteenth-century apostle of enthusiasm for ballads, a ballad was literature, not folk-lore. When it was deficient he sought to supply the deficiencies to make an acceptable literary whole. Ballads were literature to Sir Walter Scott who loved a stirring story for its own sake, a story told in appropriate form and told completely. Those specialists of the nineteenth century who restricted their gatherings to ballads only and who ignored the vulgar and the flat, they too cared for ballads as literature.

So it may well be that when we have had our fill of interest in ballads as lore, when academic research and study have run their course, we shall turn again mainly to songs and ballads of literary quality. We may again compile anthologies of popular song without subordinating their contents to the "folk" element in them, but rather with a view primarily to their literary quality and their poetic appeal. For better or for worse we may pass again from the scientific and scholarly approach to the esthetic approach of the older collectors.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

In Memoriam

Grant Showerman of Wisconsin and Rome (1870–1935)

W. A. OLDFATHER

In the passing of Grant Showerman all the *Litteræ Humaniores* have been stricken in the sword arm, and in particular the cause of classical studies has lost a champion whose place may be filled only with difficulty if at all.

Showerman was bred in the countryside of Wisconsin, and to the delineation of the wholesome living of his homeland he devoted in later life two books and a group of charming sketches. These show alike the freshness of his observation, the vividness of his memories, and the ability, which he retained into full manhood, of thinking with the heart of a child. He received his advanced education at the University of Wisconsin and the American School for Classical Studies in Rome. For 35 years, until his retirement this past summer, he taught at his Alma Mater and in the School at Rome, one year as Annual Professor and for a decade as Director of the Summer Session, in which position he rendered an unforgettable service, as guide and interpreter of the Roman spirit, to hundreds of scholars and teachers.

Note: Such was the distinction of Showerman's style that pains have been taken to express his characteristic thought for the most part in his own words.

As a scholar Showerman will be best remembered for a sane and thorough account of the cult of the Great Mother of the Gods; an important demonstration of the lateness of the associated cult of Attis in Italy; a judicious estimate of the thinking and style of Cicero, "Rome's least mortal mind"; a philosophical and ethical survey of Eternal Rome, from its beginnings down to our own time, for he was one of those to whom "Rome was the city of their souls"; a deep and sympathetic appreciation of oriental religions in the period of the Empire; a thoughtful analysis of the difference between the classical and the modern concepts of living in harmony with nature, wherein the sentimental and egotistic fustian of the romanticists is exploded in a drum-fire of trenchant aphorisms; and above all a beautiful group of essays on Horace, as "person and poet," "Horace the duality," and "Horace the philosopher of life," which for mellowed insight, for proportion, and for grace of expression must rank with the choicest interpretation of personality in the entire range of classical studies.

He reached his own conclusions "independently of the works cited

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[in his bibliography] and without reference to them" but not in ignorance of the results obtained by his predecessors, at least prior to publication, for his work was accurate and based upon first-hand acquaintance with the sources and the most reputable results of criticism. He objected vigorously, sometimes to the very verge of acerbity, to those who "without the German sincerity in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake; with neither German capacity for detail nor German endurance either in study or in digestion—or absorption . . . are with solemn faces copying the outward forms of German scholarship," and hence "though you have the German fiddle, that is, the very method and ideals with which you see him write great books, yet you have not his fiddlestick." He was inexorable in his demand for lucidity, good form, and "an arresting stylistic quality." He asked of the printed word that it contain ideas and substance, philosophical and æsthetic, and insisted that the lore of antiquity was something not merely to be known but to be interpreted and appropriated. "A ton of marble is a valuable possession, but it is worth a great deal more when finished into a statue." His highest praise was reserved for the "man who says *things*."

He called nothing less than "humorous" the articles in "philosophical magazines which pass under the name of literary scholarship." Learning should be "a crystallization of the best in human experience; it is sprung from life, and its teacher should see that it gets back into life"; and, "Don't write books until you have something to write about." He would gladly have enforced Emerson's "inexorable rule in the muses' court, either inspiration or silence." He sought ever "the rapprochement between life and the literary art."

He would have the written word "interesting," which, however, let us frankly admit it cannot always be. Between the true (or even the important) and the interesting no one-to-one correlation exists. There are after all perhaps no intrinsically uninteresting subjects but only more or less justifiably uninterested persons; and as Showerman himself has remarked elsewhere, "it was the attributes of the person who looked at the masterpiece, rather than the work itself which made it art." "Illuminating comment" is no doubt a part of the duty of the teacher but even here there are limitations; comment without illumination is only too often contributed by the many mediocre minds and colorless personalities upon whom a sinister conjuncture has laid the responsibility for interpreting literature; and for myself wherever there is doubt whether personalized comment may not perhaps result in darkening counsel I have preferred to

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make sure that students understand the plain meaning of the text and have then left the rest of it "to every man as he will, and to every woman as God hath given her wit." Let us by all means know the facts and the clear sense of the utterance and after that, for the most part, as our Vice-President, Mr. Jack Garner, has pertinently observed, "We can add the cuss-words for ourselves."

Occasionally also in his zeal for beauty of form and importance of results Showerman was less than generous to those not so gifted artistically, who, if they cannot be the saints of knowledge are still willing to be her warriors and like David, "because I have set my affection to the house of my God," have contributed the "marble stones in abundance" out of which it is reserved for a Solomon to build a temple. For he himself made much conscientious use of the materials gathered by many whose own lips had not been touched by a seraph with a live coal from the altar, and in another mood he sensibly admits that "not everyone can be a Praxiteles." And yet his judgment upon those whose *studium supervacua discendi* has brought them nothing really important to say would be a salutary motto for all the precincts of learning: "If what [the scholar] knows can not be told to the wider audience, it is a safe conclusion that his knowledge fails of being complete in that he has not related it to the universal body of knowledge."

Many a lance was broken also in the jousts of educational theory and practice where, contrary to T. R. Glover's "truism, or even an axiom, that to be tedious it is only necessary to discuss education," Showerman was often humorous, generally right, and without any doubt uniformly interesting.

A dozen sketches entitled "With the Professor," adroitly writing of himself in the third person, constitute the happiest analysis of what was even in those days (1910) the slightly old-fashioned academic mind and is now almost obsolete. I mean a man who has acquired the ability, as he elsewhere expresses it, in the fine phrasing of one playfully described as a "fellow-heretic": "To be at home in all lands and all ages; to count nature a familiar acquaintance, and art an intimate friend; to gain a standard for the appreciation of other men's work and the criticism of your own; to carry the keys of the world's library in your pocket, and feel its resources behind you in whatever you undertake; . . . to lose yourself in generous enthusiasms and co-operate with others for common ends." It is true that his "well-governed satiric mood" makes the professor appear upon occasion just a little feeble and futile, like a bright-eyed and alert but after all essentially pathetic rabbit in a wood rather overpopu-

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lated with wolves and foxes; so that I have sometimes felt like protesting with Conway, "Why should a huge treatise on a small department of grammar . . . pour contempt on grammarians . . . ? Is our toilsome profession in any danger of standing too high in the eyes of the world at large?"

But, in another context, "He knows his colleagues as a body of earnest, conscientious men, nobly discontented and hardworking, who are in need of no exhortation unless not to kill themselves in the struggle."

Showerman felt bitterly about the shoddy and sciolistic spirit which characterized an age of disintegrating curricula. In the classics and mathematics he found subjects which, through the sustained intellectual exertion which they require, intrinsically tested intelligence and integrity of character at the same time that they provided useful content and method and constituted therefore the best test of fitness for higher education. Although he decried many attempts to demonstrate the immediately practical utility of the classical languages, whose claims to recognition he based chiefly upon their ministry, through an "ideal utilitarianism," to the life of the spirit, he nevertheless contended vigorously that "the best type of citizenship is enlightened citizenship" and that the worthy student of the classics "is bred to idealism," while the most serviceable "originality results from the assimilation of tradition"—somewhat as Napoleon called "the happiest inspiration only a recollection." He spoke caustically of the spirit of commercialism which attacked the classics and mathematics first merely because they were in the vanguard; and "were only one brigade in the army of liberal culture which was being assailed by the forces of the mediocre and the practical." He foresaw that such forces would surely proceed, after dispossessing the first objects of their assault, to attack humanism along the entire line, and pure science no less, as we have all lived to experience—*ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt!* "Commercialism is a madness, and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do." Pacific and gentle as he was, for "that he lived decently and in order, cultivated ambitions which did not lead to the ways of war, and invited the rest of the world to the same" his tolerance was, for all that, not without limits: "The struggle of commerce, suggested the modern, practical school [as a moral substitute for war]—as if commerce could not be so sordid as to be worse than war."

Showerman believed that superior thoughtfulness and experience warranted a directive activity on the part of mature men; he scorned those whose chief principle in the choice of studies was

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that "the wisdom of the ages was to be as naught to the inclination of a sophomore." He derided the cocksureness of the imperfectly educated themselves, who were ready to inaugurate new and complicated programs based upon nothing more than the mere possession of "an untested soap-bubble." He was made angry, but sinned not, by the transparent charlatanry of the Wisconsin Experimental College, and his exposure was characteristically headed by the withering assurance of Peter Quince to Snug, the joiner, who had asked for the lion's part:

"You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring."

He was all for knowledge, experience, hard work, discipline, and a self-reliance that scorned props and aids and simplifications and predigestions and prophylactics of all kinds. After a skeptical survey of the zoological baby, the biological, the bacteriological, the pedagogical, the sociological, and the denatured babies, his eye lights up when he reaches "the natural baby [who] is unscientifically managed, uninspected, unsanitated, and ignorant. Enemies rise up against him on every hand, but he is self reliant. He does valiant combat with them all. The natural baby is a sportsman. . . . He muddles through. A thousand fall at his side and ten thousand at his right hand; but he multiplies and replenishes the earth. He furnishes most of the world's workers and fighters, seven-eighths of its brains, all its common-sense and health and strength, and 99¾ per cent of its genius. He would furnish all of the genius, but genius is a freak, and sometimes comes to dwell where every attempt is made to drive it away."

The pessimism for which he was sometimes censured was no intellectual "unbalance" but the necessary complement of an idealism so uncompromising, a vision so illumined, as to make him feel thwarted more often than complaisant men. He had all the intensity in disputation of a congenitally shy and kindly nature. And yet his *Weltanschauung* was shot through with a Socratic geniality; even "the case of education could not be very bad, so long as it could be laughed at"; and "an occasional bubble of humor" in all his own work ever "rises from the depths and bursts on the sea of facts." He believed sincerely in his fellow men and in his ideal society "everyone had a chance at the best," what Thomas More called "the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same"; but at the same time "liberal culture will again be aristocratized"; and "It is time that the idea that genius will take care of itself were exploded. . . . Genius may in some cases have risen superior to the neglect, or even opposition of a school board, but it is not . . . independent of encouragement."

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His entire urge was toward the development of a harmonious personality. Now that he is gone what poignancy in his prophetic words: "When the place that knew him should know him no more, it was to be no ordinary death. He was not wholly to die; there were to be left behind him ten thousand witnesses, ten thousand parts of himself, all crying out in bereavement. But it was to be the destruction of an identity: the harmony would labor from the last chord; the unity would have gone from the picture." It was happily vouchsafed him by the Divine Providence, in which he had steadfast faith, not merely to develop such a harmonious personality himself but also in his own experience to fulfil the Poet's Prayer (for Showerman's prose was always a true *Dichtung*), as phrased by himself in the only perfectly adequate version known to me of any stanza from Horace:

Health to enjoy the blessings sent
From heaven; a mind unclouded, strong;
A cheerful heart; a wise content;
An honored age; and song.

. . .

Mount Holyoke's Two Unit Plan

MARY E. WOOLLEY

WITHIN a year of its one hundredth birthday Mount Holyoke is sponsoring several new educational schemes, among them the Two Unit Plan. Opened to students in September, 1935 the plan is based on two assumptions: first, that "the individual needs of the students rather than a foreordained curriculum should be the basis of the plan": second, "since the opportunity to concentrate would give them a chance to produce better work and obtain greater satisfaction from what they had done, the students should work in only two fields at any one time."

In September of 1935 fifteen freshmen were admitted to College on this plan, a director was appointed to live with the group, acting as adviser and also as "liaison person between the two-unit students and the departmental chairman and faculty," the program was outlined under the general supervision of a committee of three faculty members, and work was begun.

The students chosen for the Two Unit Plan represent two groups: first, those "who come to College with intelligent and highly spirited ideas of what they wish to get out of their four years"; and second, those "with special abilities in given directions and definite limitations in others." For both types the chance to focus obviously leads to a better education than the older, less flexible type.

The work centers around two subjects, a "unit" sometimes including three courses, "not neces-

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sarily under the same department." In some cases the course consists of special work, including conferences with a member of the faculty in the department in which the student's work lies.

The units chosen for the freshman year need not be continued throughout the course; on the contrary, the general plan is to vary them from year to year. The hours of study carried by these freshmen are similar to those carried by students following the regular five-course curriculum, and these special students have as much time for leisure activities. Several students have joined the freshman choir, a violin player is in the orchestra and some have been interested in the modern dance and in modelling.

The Director of the plan says of it: "The results have in the majority of cases amply justified the expectations of those who initiated the scheme. It is clear that the students of marked ability and independence of approach have profited most." The year has shown that there should be some revisions, as for example in the number choosing some one department, making a heavy demand upon its teaching staff. The subjects chosen this year are: English, English Literature and Drama, French, History, Economics and Sociology, Psychology, Art, and Zoology. On the whole the College is satisfied with the results of this first year's experiment.

Graduate Study in the Small College

DIXAN RYAN FOX
President of Union College

It would be absurd for a small college to pretend that it can offer the same kind of opportunities in respect to graduate work as a great university with its huge library, its elaborate equipment and, particularly, its numerous and distinguished specialized scholars attending wholly or largely to this level of instruction. Its entrance or persistence in this field must be justified by demonstrating that it has certain opportunities, worthy of alternative consideration, which the great university does not offer.

The able, mature and experienced college teacher is usually a man of scholarly interests and properly devotes a part of his time to definite scholarly enterprises, thus advancing his own power and contribution as well as those of his college. Two or three young bachelors working with him for a year in his study or his laboratory will acquire a training as intimate and practical as that of a medieval apprentice in his master's workshop or studio. With a subordinate project of his own in which under personal guidance each young bachelor learns the primary technique of investigation, and broadened by a few advanced courses in which he encounters other teaching personalities and competes with the

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best undergraduates, he rounds out a preparation which under careful test may well entitle him to the master's degree. All this is different from the training he would get in the organized routine of a great graduate school but it may be of equal value. To conserve its benefits the college must rigidly limit the number of its graduate students and confine its graduate offering to fields in which its circumstances seem especially favorable. It is obvious, too, that it must always remember that its provision for apprentice-scholars must not obscure fundamental obligations to undergraduates. With these considerations in mind Union College has resumed graduate studies.

The administration of graduate work is in the hands of a special committee without whose endorsement no proposal affecting its courses of study could be presented to the Curriculum Committee—virtually a small College Senate—for final decision. Only the Division of Mathematics and Science is offering such courses, the three other divisions in the College, those of Language and Literature, of Social Studies and of Engineering, feeling that their present resources do not warrant this added responsibility. Those who teach graduate students do so in addition to their regular program of undergraduate teaching without additional compensation, not only as a contribution to the work of the institution but also, as they say, as a means of quickening their own mental pace. In order to secure and protect the relation of apprenticeship none of the six fields in the division involved is permitted to take more than three graduate students. A considerable increase of numbers, instead of arguing success, would spell the failure of the project. To insure the student's fitness for the work at hand each applicant is thoroughly discussed by the Graduate Studies Committee and is admitted only on its recommendation; among the small number of applicants this first year several were rejected. In the oral examination which each candidate for the master's degree must pass, one or more external examiners will sit with selected professors of the division, a provision made possible by the generous cooperation of the research staff of the General Electric Company near by for the physical sciences, and of those in the State laboratories and museum, in Albany thirteen miles away, for biology and geology.

The student takes four courses. At least one of these is a regular course on a purely graduate basis and one is a consultation course fruiting in his master's thesis. He may select one course, and in some cases two, from among those advanced undergraduate courses in his subject which he has not previously taken, but in such courses he is held responsible for extra work and special excellence.

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Discussion

Putting Medicine in High Gear

To the Editor:

I FIND in the Spring number of your magazine an article by Doctor Fishbein, "Putting the Doctor in the Budget," and also a letter in which he is gracious enough to take notice of my article in the previous number of your magazine under the title, "Medical Aid For All."

Now we are all aware that Doctor Fishbein is a very busy person but I think we were entitled to expect from him a little closer attention to the article which he was criticizing, a little more accurate use of references to other publications, and a little closer reasoning than is here demonstrated. One cannot help feeling that he has resorted to the method of reiteration and abuse more characteristic of the paid advocate than the method of argument and proof thought to be appropriate to the scholar.

In the first paragraph of his letter he states it as fact that 50 per cent of the population are well satisfied with the medical service they receive, that 40 per cent do not require the services of a physician in any single year, and that there are therefore only 10 per cent who are dissatisfied with medical care or unwilling to accept charitable service. I do not think we can accept these figures as convincing since, although stated as facts, there is no evidence as to their origin. Perhaps we may get some help upon this point since he has said elsewhere:

> An inquiry conducted among mayors of more than 130 cities and the secretaries of more than 250 county medical societies by the Bureau of Medical Economics of the American Medical Association fails to indicate any widespread lack of medical care or any general dissatisfaction with the service given. . . .

This does not appear to me to be a very satisfactory source of information. It is not probable that the mayors would have any very detailed information in regard to the people who were not receiving satisfactory medical service or were receiving none at all, and it remains to me mysterious how physicians can be aware of the number of people who are without medical care since they certainly never see them.

He has elsewhere disposed of the 10 per cent who are dissatisfied:

> If there is any dissatisfaction with medical care, it lies among the 10 per cent of our people who, because of ignorance,

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stupidity, or prejudice, prefer the by-ways of charlatanism and faith healing.

Now I protest that there is a very sound basis for the assertion that much more than 10 per cent of our people do not receive satisfactory medical care and that this 10 per cent are not of the group just described by Doctor Fishbein. The matter seems to me altogether too serious to be laughed off in a light-hearted fashion. Doctor Fishbein must undoubtedly be familiar with the studies undertaken at Framingham, Massachusetts, Rochester, New York, and in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. All of these studies concerned themselves with inquiry as to people who, having a disabling illness for two weeks or more, were wholly without the service of a physician. In the town of Framingham 19 per cent of such people were without a physician. In the rural districts about Framingham, however, 53 per cent were without medical care. Perhaps the most striking showing was in Rochester, New York where out of a group of 798 people with such illnesses 39 per cent were without a doctor. The largest, and perhaps therefore the most suggestive, survey was that undertaken in Pennsylvania and West Virginia where in a study of 7,333 people with disabling illnesses 27 per cent were without a physician. Doctor Fishbein must also be familiar with the surveys made in the State of Michigan and the State of California. Both of these showed a very striking relation between the amount of medical care received and the income of the quite large groups surveyed. It seems perfectly certain that in the lower income brackets much less care is received than in the higher, and there is no sound reason to assume that illness is less common among the poor.

Doctor Fishbein should, I think, be willing to take seriously the statement of Simons and Sinai:

> The first point to determine is whether there is, in the United States, any large section of the population with an income too small to meet the cost of necessary medical care.
>
> This question would never be raised among any of those familiar with the facts. That it is continuously raised, and the existence of such a class denied by representatives of the medical professions, is one of the principal counts in the indictment of economic and social ignorance brought against those professions. There is not a single competent student of the subject who does not agree that several million of the population of this country receive incomes insufficient to purchase the fundamental necessities of life. This conclusion is indorsed by employers' organizations and trade-unions, by the United States Bureau of Labor, charity workers, economists, statisticians, and sociologists of every type and attitude. It is one of the very few undisputed facts in the realm of economics. Yet, its explicit or implied denial is constantly found in writings admitted to medical and dental journals.

This indicates that the group of experts who are concerned with

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the relief of people in the lower income brackets see much more of this problem and do not doubt that it is an important one.

Doctor Fishbein's next interesting suggestion is that those of us who are inclined to hope for improved medical care might be better occupied in preventing the democratically inclined inhabitants of the United States from exercising their freedom of choice in selecting the methods by which they will care for their health. This sounds a little extraordinary coming from one who has been so violently opposed to compulsion in any form and who is such an ardent advocate of freedom of choice of physicians. It seems to me that Doctor Fishbein cannot have it both ways. If he demands freedom of choice of physicians he should be willing to acquiesce in freedom of choice carried to its logical conclusion. I very much fear that if we should undertake to forbid Americans to patronize people whom we in the profession see fit to describe as quacks, or to forbid their swallowing large quantities of generally harmless medicine sold them by the patent medicine producers, we should find ourselves in a case somewhat worse than that which we recently experienced when we tried to curtail the consumption of alcohol. In passing let me commend to Doctor Fishbein's consideration the possibility that if the people are to be persuaded to abandon their habit of consulting what we may call "irregular" practitioners the job will be most likely to come to a successful conclusion if and when the medical profession offers such service that these people can no longer earn a livelihood. It appears to me ill to become a profession of dignity to ask that their competitors be violently removed because the profession cannot satisfactorily meet the competition offered it.

Doctor Fishbein then intimates that my most serious fallacy is the "suggestion that the reduction of the number of physicians by 25 per cent is proposed by the Commission on Medical Education for the purpose of raising the income of the profession and diminishing the amount of medical service given." I am not quite clear whether he intends to imply that the Commission on Medical Education made this proposal for the purpose indicated, or that it made the proposal and that I am in error in assuming their purpose was as he suggests. The fact of the matter is that the Commission on Medical Education never made any such proposal. Doctor Fishbein is well aware that I was a member of this Commission, and it may interest him to know that I attended the meetings with great regularity, read the manuscript before publication, and am very familiar with the contents of the *Report*. The nearest approach which the Commission made to

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the suggestion with which he credits me was the following:

> An adequate medical service for the country could probably be provided by about 120,000 active physicians, *if they were distributed in relation to the medical needs and their efforts were properly correlated* [the italics are mine]. On such an assumption there is an oversupply of at least 25,000 physicians in this country.

It will be observed that the Commission does not imply that a reduction of 25 per cent would be possible but on the contrary that a diminution of about 25,000 physicians—about 18 per cent—might give adequate service *if the present situation in regard to distribution and correlation were altered.* Not only is this very far from being a recommendation, but it is based upon the assumption that very important alterations will be made before it can be true.

In this connection I must assume that Doctor Fishbein is familiar with the very carefully prepared volume, *The Fundamentals of Good Medical Care,* by Roger I. Lee, M.D., and Lewis W. Jones, Ph.D. This is perhaps the only thoroughgoing attempt to indicate what constitute the *minimum* requirements for satisfactory medical attention. If he has read the book he will remember that the authors reach the conclusion that there are *probably* enough physicians practicing in the United States to render such service. This would appear to me to justify the view that the supply of physicians in this country is not clearly excessive if we propose to supply complete, satisfactory care.

Doctor Fishbein raises the point that improved communications have made it possible for physicians to see more patients. This is undoubtedly true and I have had occasion to allude to that point elsewhere. On the other hand he does not seem aware of the equally undoubted fact that the modern practice of medicine requires much more careful examinations and involves a very considerably larger amount of time on the part of the physician. He appears to suggest that the work of the physician today can be carried out in the same length of time needed by his grandfather. And this is a proposition no one familiar with the facts will assert.

In his article Doctor Fishbein makes the following statement:

> The Commission on Medical Education pointed out that 85 per cent of the conditions for which people consult doctors can be treated by a good medical practitioner with the equipment he can carry in a handbag, and the remaining 15 per cent require hospitalization and the attention of specialists.

I would point out to him that the Commission never made any statement which can be tortured into such a meaning. In Chapter 2 of the *Report* they say:

> About 85 per cent of the office and home visits were for minor surgery, acute

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infections of the upper respiratory tract, general medical disorders, venereal disease, and obstetrics. The gradual increase in the proportion of the population above forty years of age is bringing about a noticeable increase in the diseases of adult life and old age, particularly in the degenerative diseases of the heart, blood vessels, joints, kidneys, brain, and in the various forms of malignancy.

In Chapter 12, they say:

Well-trained doctors should be competent to deal with a majority of illnesses and to advise families and patients when special examinations or treatments are needed. The differentiation of the beginnings of serious disorders and their prompt recognition and proper early care often require wide knowledge, character, resourcefulness, courage, quick insight, and keen judgment, characteristics which have always marked the superior physician. Regardless of how forms of practice change, successful medical care will continue to be dependent upon these same qualities.

This seems to me very far from supporting Doctor Fishbein's thesis in regard to the general practitioner and his little bag which, as suggested above, seems to be looking backward, not forward.

The doctor next alludes to the fact that I had the honor to sit beside him at dinner and hear high tribute paid to the late Dr. Franklin Martin. In this he is correct, but the assertion that under the aegis of that very able man fee-splitting did in fact diminish is very far from proven by eulogies. I think it not impossible that my own study of this problem in a considerable portion of the country would make me quite as sound a witness as Doctor Fishbein, the official representative of organized medicine, who might perhaps not hear quite so much of what goes on behind the scenes as would one not so officially connected. I am not inclined to regard as authoritative his statement that fee-splitting has altered for the better.

Finally, Doctor Fishbein brands as untrue my statement that the courts have been somewhat uncordial to the action of medical societies in expelling their members and injuring their practice for alleged violation of their rules. Without going into the question more extensively I shall recall to his attention the recent case of a distinguished physician in a large eastern city who fell afoul of organized medicine, was expelled, and afterwards reinstated after court action. Such cases could be considerably multiplied.

On the whole I think we are entitled to expect from the representative of the American Medical Association more willingness seriously to consider evidence which does not accord with his contention and a more judicial attitude on the whole problem. If the medical profession is, as we all of us wish to believe, dedicated to the ideals of service, then ex parte statements and special pleading have no place in the presentation of their views.

HUGH CABOT, M.D.

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Scholars and Discoveries

To the Editor:

Don't you know that, President Neilson to the Contrary notwithstanding (see THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1936, "The American Scholar Today"), no self-respecting scholar can allow himself to write anything that can be quoted, except by other scholars? If you want a quotable article get one on the subject of the scholarly and scientific pose that "the human implications" of a discovery don't and shouldn't interest the discoverer. The other day some man at Harvard created a rabbit without employing a male parent, and told the annoying press men that he wasn't "interested in the human implications"—as if that were something to be proud of. Of course such a remark gives the ordinary person an acute pain in the neck. This whole notion that it is just as important to discover one thing as another, this fetish of truth for its own pure sake (as if there were such a thing as truth, anyhow, apart from the perceptive mind), this idea that the man who discovers a gas which can kill a population isn't concerned with the human implications, or that a scholar who discovers an extra foot in the 311th line of the 2nd edition of a deservedly forgotten play of the 16th century is doing as useful work as the scholar who writes a manuscript which fills 1000 youths with literary enthusiasm—well, it just doesn't make sense to the majority of mankind.

Among whom I reluctantly subscribe myself one.

WALTER P. EATON.

About Our Authors

Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from authors' letters about themselves

PAUL B. SEARS, professor of botany at the University of Oklahoma, head of the department, and author of *Deserts on the March* (which if you haven't you should read) writes: "I grew up under dangerous auspices. One of my relatives, an actor of the old school, used to keep my brothers and me in a state of perpetual envy with lurid tales of his picturesque boyhood. But he was a sympathetic old devil. Once he overheard me bewailing my own prosaic existence and immediately offered this consolation, 'never mind, laddie, just wait until you learn to lie as well as I can. Everything will be all right then.'" . . . It's all right; he now finds fact more exciting than fiction. He specializes in the complex interrelationships in nature which mankind delights to violate; his prophecies are based on the evidence of things seen. One last word: "I do not remember ever seeing an uninteresting landscape, or a wholly uninteresting person. If I did I should be inclined to take what they call in the southern Ozarks 'a course of calomel.'"

It was as a student at Yale, where DOUGLAS MOORE, now associate professor of music, collaborated with Archibald Macleish in setting lyrics to music, that he became alert to the problem of bridging the gap between the American college student and the art of music. Understanding the "layman's difficulties in intelligent contact with music" he gives a non-professional course at Columbia and Barnard in the understanding of music. Undoubtedly his students gain immensely from the fact that he not only studied under Vincent D'Indy and Ernest Bloch but that he is a composer in his own right—a suite for orchestra ("Pageant of P. T. Barnum"), an overture, an opera, a string quartet, and a sonata for violin and piano—compositions which won him a Pulitzer Fellowship in 1925 and a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1934.

A year after graduation from Wake Forest College, of which he is now president emeritus, WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT returned to teach. "Such science instruction as he [had] received was dispensed from a long settee. His professor in the far seventies taught chemistry, physics, zoology, botany, geology, mineralogy, physiology, and hygiene, and was really more of a mathematician than anything else. Of these varied offerings the future biologist took only a year each of book chemistry and physics. . . . No conditioning Ph.D. on the bacterial content of cotton undershirts or the fertility of the hermaphroditic Heterostropha Say stiffened his spine. . . . His biology laboratory is said to have been the first south of Johns Hopkins."

At 8, WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT, product of a missionary home, began to devour the contents of his father's library and at 10 he ran errands for several months in a Chilean seaport to earn the price of a 2-volume *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, just published. During the past 16

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years he has spent nearly all his time directing the American School of Oriental Studies in Jerusalem, not letting his duties as W. W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins deflect him from a yearly trip to Palestine. . . . "He has 2 serious weaknesses: one is an inordinate curiosity with regard to other fields of research; the other is a furtive liking for mystery stories in any form and language."

Despite teaching English for a year after graduation from Radcliffe, MILDRED COUSENS still feels like writing verse. It may be found in various poetry journals, including *Bozart*, *The Lyric*, and *The American Poetry Journal*.

GEORGE FORT MILTON, editor of the *Chattanooga News*, escapes from his "daily dozens" via delvings into the "hidden currents of Amrican historical development." Out of the "escape" emerged 2 books, *The Age of Hate* and *The Eve of Conflict*. Mr. Milton "contends that the newspaper is as much under the impact of the ferments of the day as any of our institutions and that the editor, like Alice, has to run very fast indeed to stay where he is in this high velocitied enterprise." . . . Aside from journalism and history writing the author finds 4 things particularly engaging—tennis, contract bridge, chess (in which his enjoyment is greater than his skill), and conversation, "which he believes the finest mode of communication of thought and opinion that exists in this day of over-abundant print and oratory."

EDWIN R. EMBREE, whose paper "Shall the South Accept Mediocrity?" (October 1932 AMERICAN SCHOLAR) raised fundamental controversial issues, is president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. His interest in diverse peoples and subjects "began with his birth into a family which . . . had included James Embree, publisher of the first abolition paper in America, and . . . the crusading Scotch-Irish Kentucky preacher, John G. Fee." As a boy he lived on a ranch in Wyoming where his neighbors were chiefly roving bands of Indians, and later he lived at Berea College, then maintained by his grandfather as a coeducational school for both white and colored pupils —astonishing educational feat in the Kentucky of those days.

CARL WHITING BISHOP, associate curator of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, is "put up a gum tree" by our request that he turn autobiographer. He was born in Tokyo in the days when much of the Old Japan survived and was filled with Japanese folktales and legends. Sandwiched between college, and graduate work in anthropology and archeology under Dr. Franz Boas, came months of "seeing how people actually did things in the world"—mining in Old Mexico and herding in our Southwest. Later came a season of archeological exploration in the "bush" of Yucatan and Guatemala and the reconnaissances which have taken him over much of China and some of the adjacent regions as well. . . . "For hobbies and avocations I have at present neither time nor opportunity, though plenty of inclination; thus I should much like to go in

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seriously for a study of sailing craft, their build and rigging, in the days of 'wooden ships and iron men' (with due apologies, of course, to the 'iron ships and wooden men' that we have with us nowadays)."

HARRY WOODBURN CHASE is chancellor of New York University.

LORINE PRUETTE: "My vocational history is about as spotty and cockeyed as my interests. On my desk now is a book on the endocrine glands, a book on Marx and a book of literary criticism. . . . I taught in a college for a couple of years, did mental testing, developed tests for a personnel department of a large New York store, did private consultation work in psychology and indulged in a considerable amount of literary criticism. . . . I used to go around making lectures to people, though I could never understand how I got away with it nor why people go to lectures" [perhaps hers were different]. . . . And she has written a biography of G. Stanley Hall, several volumes on psychology, and a couple of novels.

This May WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, research professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, retires after 44 years on its faculty. Through many channels the character of his thought is widely known—his books, 4 of which have been Religious Book-of-the-Month Club selections; his efforts to bring together the world-scattered branches of the Christian Church; his interest in the New York Labor Temple, whose life he once saved; his important work as member of the international Commission which prepared the report, *The Christian College in India*. . . . Among other things "Untrained Clergy" picks up strands from Mr. Harold Fey's "The Religious Crisis in Rural America" (AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1935).

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR., associate professor of philosophy at Columbia, is the author of many books in his field, including *The Making of the Modern Mind*. He has been so busy, however, with preparation for his next book in the making that only now, after four years' service on the Editorial Board, has he squeezed in an article for us. . . . In 1933–34 he held a humanities research fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation and spent some months in Italy studying Renaissance science in the School of Padua. . . . He has proved a substantial bulwark in keeping THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR on an even keel, and has a marked aversion to supplying autobiographical information.

. . . In comment on his article he wrote, however: "All forms of human behavior, and especially the beliefs so intimately bound up with it, have long seemed to me to possess an interesting and delightful kind of craziness; the consideration of which is one of my chief passions in life. The loud devotion to Reason of professed rationalists is one of the most charming. My personal acquaintance with the most modern forms of 'irrationalism' was made during a recent stay of a year in Italy, while other Americans were enjoying the N. R. A. From the vantage-point of Mussolini's domain, while Italian life, though hard and penurious as ever, seemed normal and reasonable enough, the Blue Eagle phase of the New Deal took on an appearance of incredible unreality; and the reported doings of the *sindicato dei cervelli*, then basking in its first publicity, seemed fantastic enough for any taste. Not even a sojourn in Germany could remove the air of general lunacy from that unhappy land, where every intelligent man at once explains that he is supporting what he freely admits is partly insane, not because he believes in it, but because he believes that if he supported what he believes in more he would get what he believes in still less. The net result of this adventure was to reinforce the philosophy of 'Aren't we all?'"

When we first asked LOUISE POUND to prepare an article she wrote: "I'm tied up just now with contracts for three books, in addition to national committees, a department periodical, school duties, and innumerable students past and present, and too large a correspondence." . . . Had we then known her better we should have expected the ms. almost any day. . . . Study for a B.A. and M.A., and later for a Ph.D. from Heidelberg, followed by a career, from instructor to professor, in the University of Nebraska have not interfered with an array of championships in tennis, golf and bicycling, innumerable books and magazine articles from the fields of literature, linguistics and folklore, and membership—or directorship—in an appalling number of societies for the propagation of learning (besides a few for the propagation of nonsense). She has also been responsible for the propagation of a thoroughly non-sentimental theory of the origins of balladry and folklore that has converted more than one eminent literary authority to her point of view. . . . On this issue Hartley Alexander writes: "Some years ago the English literaturists of the country were under the spell of a biological romance as to the origin of balladry, English and other. The whole fictitious scenario was a solemnly accepted dogma, with ponderous books supporting. Turning aside from her real concern for linguistic development, Louise Pound brought forth a book, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, and the whole house of cards collapsed."

W. A. OLDFATHER, professor of classics, University of Illinois, trusts he is not unduly insensitive to the appeal of beauty in the written word though he seeks in the records of literature more for that whereby men live than for delight in leisure hours. . . . "I feel that the past of two such really great cultures as those of Greece and Rome is only beginning to demonstrate its chief utility to the builders of a new society." . . . Since via canoe he has seen many thousands of miles of the civilization of the United States, Canada, and Alaska he has earned the right to say "I am distinctly liberal in my political and social thinking, much opposed to imperialism, and in favor of considerable experimentation with the present economic set-up."

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MARY E. WOOLLEY is president of Mt. Holyoke; DIXAN RYAN FOX is president of Union.

HUGH CABOT, M.D.: Throughout his professional life he has been associated with well-established hospital organizations, sometimes in a "three legged job," administrative, professorial, and surgical. Since 1930 he has been at the Mayo Clinic as one of the senior surgical consultants. . . . "I think medically my chief characteristics are a dislike for the substitution of words for thinking, a profound conviction that there should be no mystery about the practice of medicine, and that any physician who cannot make the problem clear to his patients probably does not himself grasp it. . . . Recently I have been concerned with the evidence that physicians are in danger of developing themselves into a trade union and becoming too much concerned with protecting their alleged rights and too apt to forget that they have no standing in the community except as the professional servants of the people. . . . I have found it essential to my stability of mind to spend a good deal of time in contact with the laws of nature and have acquired the ability to look after myself and, so to speak, live upon the country. This I regard as essential to anything properly described as contemplation. I suspect that in a hurried and puzzling world many of us have too little time to think and no time for allowing our alleged thinking to stabilize itself as the result of contemplation."

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